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The Official Journal of the San Francisco Labor Council : : :

LABOR CLARION

The Official Journal of the California State Federation of Labor

VOL. XVII. SAN FRANCISCO, FRIDAY, AUGUST 30, 1918 No. 30

-:- The War and After -:-

Another year has passed and the great conflict which has upset the calculations of the entire world, unsettled the industries of every nation on earth, and had a great influence upon the manner of life of more than half of the human race, is entering upon its fifth year of privation and hunger, anxiety and worry, fear and hope, pain and misery, death and disaster, and the end is not yet in sight. When this terrible scourge is to pass away is still a matter of unsatisfactory speculation. No human being can prophesy with any degree of accuracy just when the Teutons will become sufficiently exhausted to induce them to confess defeat, but there is one phase of the situation upon which the American people are a unit, and that is that this dread war must go on until conditions so shape themselves as to make another struggle of this character one of the remotest of possibilities; that we must continue to endure our present sacrifices and sufferings until a peace can be had which will insure to the people of the world they will not again be called upon to defend their right to shape their own affairs whenever the ambitions of autocrats spur them on to conquest.

American troops have not yet taken any considerable part in the great struggle, measured by the long siege our allies have had, but the actions in which they have participated have been sufficient to demonstrate that the spirit that moved the pioneers who established this nation still burns in the breasts of its young manhood and to indicate what we may reasonably hope for in the future from these brave crusaders for democracy. In the light of events of today, the final result of the conflict cannot be doubted. The Allies will win and autocracy will be crushed beneath the might of loyally defended right.

Until this happy consummation shall have been achieved, the organized workers of this, the freest country in the world, must bend every energy to the task of furnishing the things the fighting armies must have in order to render the service we expect of them. Under such circumstances he is, indeed, a traitor and beneath the contempt of honest men who fails to do his level best each succeeding day to bring about the desired end. Duty calls now as it never called before, and there must be no shirkers in the ranks of the organized toilers. The slogan of each must be, "On, on to the end!"

But the end of the workers' troubles will not come with the close of the war, beneficial as that event must prove to all humanity. In that critical period of readjustment which will come with the beginning of peace there will be work for the best minds in the labor movement in planning to retain previously acquired gains and forging forward to better things for the men and women who must earn their bread in the sweat of their brows. Millions of men will come back from the fighting front prepared to take up the occupations of peace, putting an end to the scarcity of labor of all kinds and characters; the acute demand for the necessities of war will be over; employers will proceed to cut and slash the abnormal wages of war days, and living conditions will be revolutionized in many ways. It will be a period of wild readjustment, and how well the toilers are to fare in the scramble depends very largely upon how they conduct themselves now, upon how they prepare to meet the trials of that time and upon what degree of loyalty they display toward the principles and spirit of brotherhood. To be a real trade unionist in such times is to be a genuine factor for human betterment. Where will the great mass of workers who became union members during the hurry and excitement of war times stand then? Where do these workers stand now so far as preparing for the hour of trial is concerned? What are old-time trade unionists doing to inculcate in the minds of these unsophisticated unionists the true principles and purposes of the organized labor movement of America so that they may fully understand the need and the necessity of remaining true to their ideals? Upon the answers to these questions much depends.

No employer in his right senses believes that the workers will willingly return to the conditions that prevailed previous to the war when the relationship of employer and employee was that of master and slave rather than that of man to man. All forward-looking employers expect the workers to demand a greater democratization of industry in the future, and many of them feel that the demands must be conceded, but there are very many others who are convinced that the thoughtlessness, the lack of preparedness and the selfishness of the individual worker will make it a comparatively easy matter to drift back to old conditions.

There are untold thousands of workers today living in a fool's paradise, without a thought of the future or dreaming that democracy will look out for itself without much effort on their part, and others apparently absorbed with the idea that present industrial conditions are to go on forever, leaving nothing for them to concern themselves about, and it is this spirit on the part of the workers that holds out the hope to greedy captains of industry that after the close of the war they can again completely dominate affairs. There are at the present time many indications of this idea in the minds of employers, one particularly noticeable instance being displayed by the president of the Western Union Telegraph Company when he announced he would not oppose Government control of the telegraphs if the Government would promise not to permit the workers to organize so that when the system was returned to him he could go on as before. That he entertains the hope that employers may exercise a complete mastership after the war is here clearly set forth, and there should be no doubt concerning the intentions of many employers in this regard.

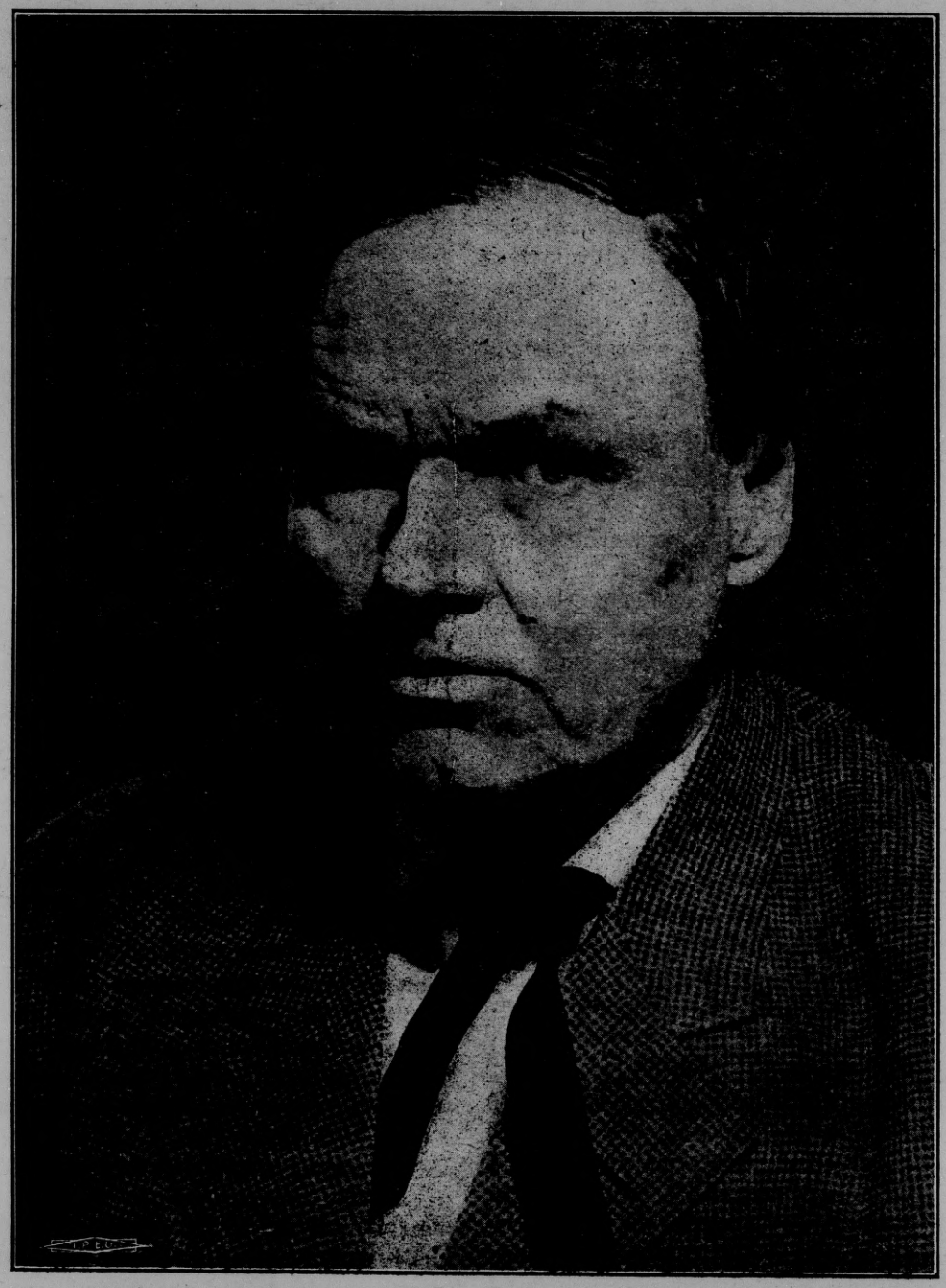
Taking into account the signs of the times, the apathy of the rank and file of the organized workers concerning the future is truly amazing. Ordinary prudence ought to prompt them to prepare to defend their conditions against the attacks of employers which are sure to come. The war is not going to make angels of devils or transform pitiless taskmasters into philanthropic directors. They are going to be as greedy, as grasping, as unyielding as ever, and labor will have to fight for what it gets. With this fact clearly in mind, every labor organization should proceed forthwith to put money into its treasury and to fortify its position in every possible manner so as to be ready, when assaults are made upon it, to effectively defend the interests of the workers.

Away With Peace Talk

By Clarence Darrow
Of the American Alliance for Labor and Democracy.

Clarence Darrow, author of this stirring, timely article, now is in England to study the war at first hand. Mr. Darrow will see what Great Britain is doing and will then go to France and to the fighting front. Since the war began Mr. Darrow has been a contributor to this newspaper through the American Alliance for Labor and Democracy. He will write for this paper a number of articles as the result of his first hand impressions of the war. He'll tell what war is like at the front and will give to the readers of "Labor Clarion" his convictions and impressions of the great conflict.—Editor's Note.

When I hear a man talking of how this war will be settled I know he is giving aid and comfort to our enemy in times of war. It is no time to talk about terms of peace until we begin to fight. At present we have but one duty and that duty is to fight. I have no patience with those people of any allied nation who are busying themselves in a vain effort to settle the terms of peace. When the foe is in front of us, with all the weapons known to modern warfare, we have no time to think of peace. Peace will come when the German military machine is destroyed, and it can not come before. Neither have I any use for the faint hearted or those who say we can not conquer Germany, that we can not win, that it may be a draw. It would be better that our cause should go down in ruin and defeat than that we would have an inconclusive peace in the end. If we lose (which we can not and will not), but if we lose, our people, crushed and bleeding, will still have before them the example of Poland, dismembered, under the conqueror's heel, that still for more than a hundred years has kept its national spirit and fought for the freedom that would one day come. But if we make a cowardly settlement, if we temporize with evil and with wrong, if we compromise for peace, if we save our bodies, we will lose our souls.



NO MORE TALK OF PEACE.

I wish it might go forth from any and every allied land on earth that there should be no more talks of peace. When the German army is driven back to the fatherland, we may talk peace, but not before.

Peace? There is no peace in the world today. There is no chance for peace. This earth is not big enough for peace and Prussian militarism at once. Can we talk peace? The United States did not seek this war; it came to our shores. We entered this war because the barbarous, ruthless military machine of Germany murdered our people on the seas, destroyed our commerce, and bade a great nation of a hundred million people keep off the "German" ocean.

We entered this war to protect our national life, because we no

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longer could have held up our heads amongst the nations of the world had we been so cowardly as to take orders from Berlin. No doubt the great mass of our American people were already with the Allies. From the day Germany overran Belgium, all feeling human beings loved Belgium and hated Germany. We were with the Allies in sentiment, in hope, in feeling, but we entered this war clearly definitely, when we were attacked and when it was necessary to defend our national life and our national honor; but today we are in; today we have joined with our Allies in a great, a glorious, a sacred cause; and while we entered to protect our own national life, we will not stop until the great wrong that Germany has done to civilization and to all the world shall be repaired.

Talk of terms of peace! We entered this war to protect ourselves against the ruthless power of Germany. Shall we say to the world that when Germany stops and leaves the ocean free to us, we will stop fighting and leave our Allies, who have fought with us, to fight out their battles for themselves? No. To do that would be to be unfaithful to every human feeling that abides in the breast of man. We are in with them, and today we are working for their aspirations as well as ours. Are we as Americans to announce our policy and say that when this cruel submarine warfare is ended we will stop; shall we say that France, who has suffered more than any other great nation, shall be deserted or that we will stand by her until Alsace-Lorraine are brought home to their fatherland? If we say, "Stand by France to recover Alsace-Lorraine," the faint-hearted will ask why should we send our boys to Europe to fight for conquest for France? If we say we will desert them after they have helped us to accomplish our ends, we will brand ourselves as selfish, unfit for idealistic thought, unfit for the ties that bound us to the others fighting in a common cause.

Shall we say to Germany that whenever she sees fit to stop fighting, whether now or ten years from now, we will give her back the German colonies which she has rightfully forfeited, lost in open warfare and which she should never have again? If we say that those colonies shall be kept, then the faint-hearted ask why are you fighting to change the map of Europe? If we say they shall be handed back, we will betray our Allies in the midst of the fight. With Germany already occupying half of Europe, we need say nothing about when we will stop. First let the Germans go back to the fatherland and show repentance, and then we can talk, but not until then.

WE MUST HOLD TO OUR IDEALS.

And what else? America has never been a military nation. I, for one, hope that she may never be. I am willing and anxious that

AID EXTENDED TO CAR WRECK VICTIMS.

PROMINENT LAW FIRM ENDORSED BY ORGANIZED LABOR.

Organized labor, ever ready to lend a helping hand to the needy, has sponsored the organization of the "Visitacion Valley Car Victims' Association," composed of those members of Labor Unions, and their families, who suffered injuries in the wreck of the United Railroads' Visitacion Valley car on July 13th, last. The Association was started by the Boilermakers', Ironworkers', Carpenters', and Millmen's Unions.

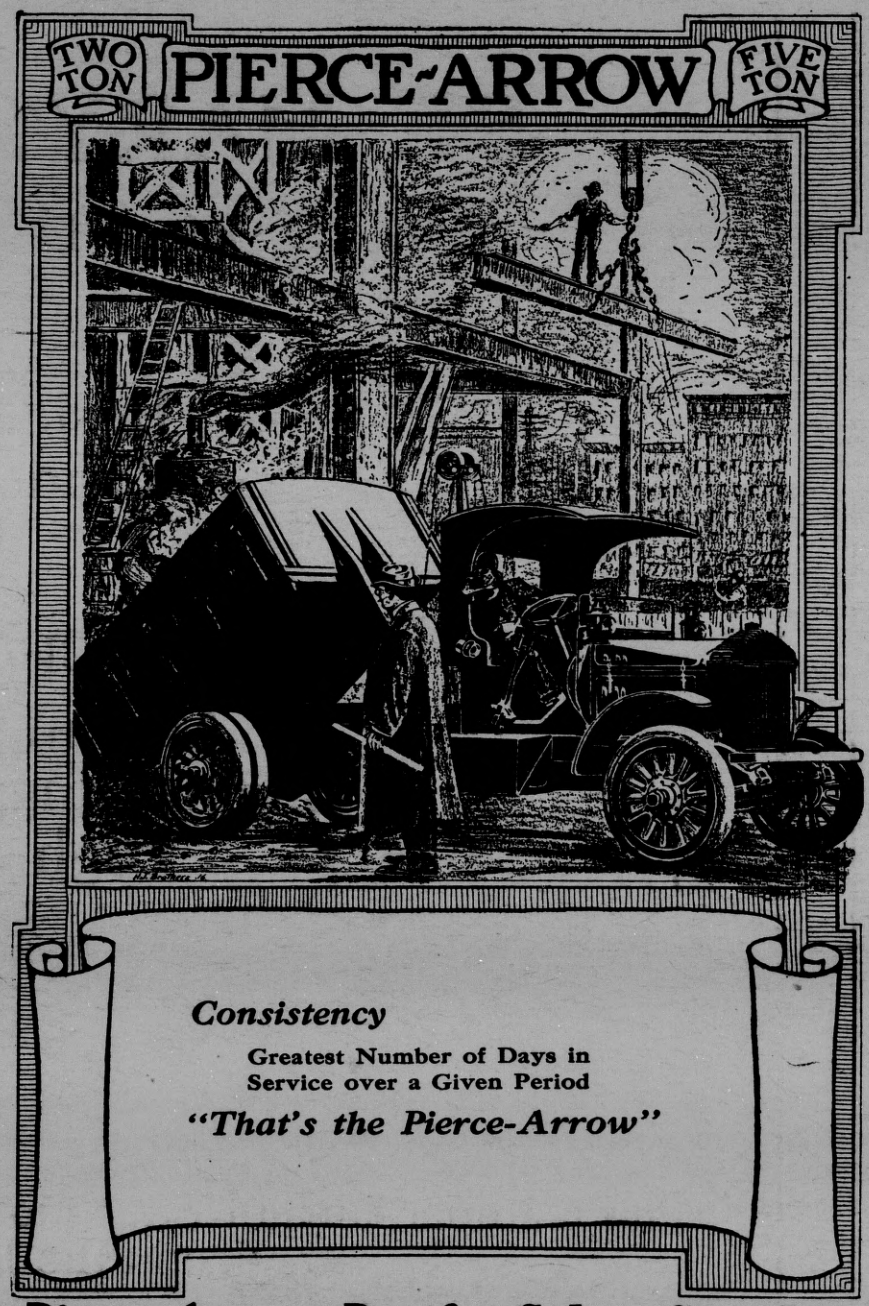
The Association, upon the recommendation of the Unions, has employed the law firm of ROBINSON & BROWN, with offices in the Hearst Building, to represent all persons who suffered by this wreck.

This firm is composed of two of San Francisco's most able young men, ELMER E. ROBINSON and FABIAN D. BROWN, both of whom worked their own way and by their repeated successes became known throughout the State.

Elmer E. Robinson is the grandson of one of the founders of Union Labor in San Francisco, and many members of his family are now prominent and active in labor circles. A few months after Mr. Robinson finished his legal education he successfully represented the defense of the famous Means Murder Cases in Mendocino County. In 1915 he was successful in defending Catherine Francis, "The Baby Stare Smuggler," who was charged with smuggling "Big Ben," the largest opal in the world, said to be worth $15,000, into the United States from Australia. Among his successes, Mr. Robinson has represented many injured members of unions in damage suits and before the Industrial Accident Commission.

Fabian D. Brown was reared in San Francisco and educated in its public schools. He worked his way through law school receiving a thorough legal training. In 1910 he held a prominent position with the San Francisco "Chronicle," leaving there to take a position with a large insurance concern as a department manager. Mr. Brown, while thus employed, studied law, and in 1912 was admitted to practice. He has been engaged in the conduct of many cases in San Mateo County involving local politics, and recently was associated in the litigation arising out of the Stockton Street and Twin Peaks Tunnel projects. Mr. Brown successfully defended the first prosecution for a violation of the "Blue Sky Law" of California. A few months ago he secured an acquittal of the employees of the Grand View Hotel, prosecuted for conspiracy in the Federal Courts.

Friends of organized labor will be encouraged to learn that they have available the services of attorneys thoroughly competent and wholly in sympathy with their ideals.



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America shall use every means of preparation that is necessary to win this war, but we believe in the ideals of peace, and I hope as a nation we will cling to those ideals and take them up again when this war is won.

We have never been a military nation, but we have entered this war in good faith with our Allies, and it is our business to win. The question today is, "How can we best defeat Germany?" Germany today, by her ruthlessness, by her violation of international law, her violation of all the laws of humanity, Germany today is an outlaw amongst the nations of the earth. We may some time look too far ahead. Today Germany is threatening the destruction of the civilization that the world has built. She is threatening the liberty of Europe, she is threatening the liberty of America. Germany is the common enemy that must be beaten.

We entered this war to protect our right, but more and more this war is a war between democracy and autocracy, and one or the other must survive. And in that, we cannot say to Austria, "We will settle if you will do so and so." We cannot say it to Germany. We can say it to none. We must reach out to try to get greater justice in the world.

Austria's heel has been upon the neck of the Slavs. She has held the Poles in subjection and she has held the Bohemians in subjection. What shall we say to our Bohemian brothers, who are fighting in every Allied army in Europe, who are fighting in the Austrian army, and the only time the Bohemians ever surrender is when they are fighting in the Austrian army, and after they surrender they just begin to fight; shall we say to them, "We will leave you bound and chained to Austria after we have had your devotion and your help," or shall we say, "Our sympathies are with you and when this war is over and won, we hope Bohemia can once more be a nation amongst the other nations of the earth."

MAP OF EUROPE MUST BE CHANGED.

And what of Poland, the land of art, of music, of literature, of freedom, the land that in science gave us Copernicus, in literature gave us Conrad, in music gave us Paderewski, a State that, although often defeated, has always fought, has never surrendered, whose heart has ever beat true to human liberty, a people whether under Austria, Germany or Russia, have always longed for the time when they once more would be independent, a nation among the other nations of the earth; a people that if united in Europe would be at least the sixth largest nation in Europe, and more than that in devotion, a people that have contributed to the wealth, the industry, the intellect of America. Almost to the last man, they are standing with us today. Shall we say to them that in this great opportunity of the ages we will turn our back on them or rather that we will fight this war to the end and that we will stand to the end and above the smoke and the ruin and the blood of the European battlefields, we will help Poland to rise triumphant and free?—

We can not fight this war without idealism. Strong as the cannon may be, there is something stronger, the everlasting yearning of the human soul, the feeling of love and brotherhood, the sympathy in each other's wrong; and this we must have before we can win; and this we will have. The map of Europe must be changed. It is not safe for Europe, and it is not safe for America, that it be left as it was. It will be changed if Germany can change it. It must be changed if the Allies can change it. The old boundaries are gone; many of them are blotted out forever. We will hope that from this carnage and desolation, there may be new countries, bound together by blood, by common language, by common feeling, and these new countries will make war less possible in the future than it has been in the past.

The only people with whom it is a joy to sit silent are the people with whom it is a joy to talk.—Gail Hamilton.

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Health Insurance—An Organized Labor Issue

By Daniel C. Murphy, President of the State Federation of Labor.

"Prevention," says a pamphlet recently issued by the National Industrial Conference Board, "is the very antithesis of insurance."

Magnus Alexander, the recent guest of Frederick Koster, President of the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, is the author of this pamphlet. If you say "National Insurance Conference Board" fast enough and stress the word "National" hard enough, it will sound like a federal board to the untutored, it will ring on unaccustomed ears like a government enterprise.

But let us examine this board more closely. The "New Republic" of recent issue says, "This organization bears a somewhat indefinite name, which little indicates that it represents a combination of approxi-

mately seventeen employers' associations, including some of the most powerful combinations of this class in the country."

It is now plain that Magnus does not belong to "Alexander's Rag Time Band."

Before we proceed further with Mr. Magnus Alexander, author of the pamphlet against health insurance, let us pause and listen to Mr. Magnus Alexander, speaker, recently introduced at a number of San Francisco Chamber of Commerce affairs as a great authority on labor problems. Mr. Alexander in all these speeches went out of his way to warn the employers against the health insurance amendment. There were those who were suspicious enough to believe that he had been invited out here for that express purpose and that his speech was just a large knock at health insurance entirely surrounded by generalities —which was supposed to be a clever way to get the attack over.

So now we know the worst—Magnus Alexander, representing an organization of seventeen powerful employers, declares against health insurance! What avails it now that Theodore Roosevelt, William McAdoo, Dr. Alexander Lambert, Medical Director of the American Red Cross in France, and other men of that stature have recently endorsed Social Insurance?

What Alexander is going to substitute for health insurance he does not make clear either in his spoken or written word. He makes much of the doctrine of prevention. Obviously it is better to prevent any loss, any calamity, than to compensate for it, than to insure against it.

But maximum prevention still leaves a margin of non-prevented cases—safety-first standards have reduced the number of accidents, but safety-first does not meet the particular problem of the particular workman who is unlucky enough to be injured in spite of prevention. The health conservation movement does not help the workman who is sick on his back and needs the best medical or surgical care.

If your appendix is about to explode, it will not help you that the Board of Health has issued new quarantine regulations and has appointed a new sanitary engineer.

It is necessary that a surgeon and your appendix become immediately acquainted with each other.

Health Insurance will accomplish that introduction at the least possible cost to the worker. Also it will give the family something to live on while the appendix is being coerced into good behavior or is being amputated.

Would the thousands of manufacturers who hold membership in the seventeen associations constituting the National Industrial Conference Board take seriously the advice that they should abandon fire insurance and substitute fire prevention? That is just as sensible as to say that we should abandon the idea of Health Insurance and substitute sickness prevention. We need both. As a matter of fact, Health Insurance in itself will be the greatest preventive measure that could be established; it will bring the insured that care which prevents the minor illnesses from becoming serious ones, and it will stimulate better health-first standards just as Industrial Accident Insurance brought new and better safety-first measures.

Health Insurance transfers the danger of loss from an individual to a group just as fire insurance makes the financial losses of fire the joint concern of the insured.

Social Health Insurance (please emphasize the word social), means that the insurance is administered for the benefit of society and not for the profit of commercial insurance companies. Wherefore these companies are making an organized effort to defeat the amendment.

I am a member of the State Social Insurance Commission and I am constantly reading criticism and analysis of the sort of bill we are going to propose to the legislature when the enabling act passes. In imaginative power and inventive genius that is none too scrupulous, the Christian Science Publications Committee must be awarded the prize for creating a bogie bill. They have constructed a scarecrow to scare the timid voters away and have hidden behind the fence so that they may not be suspected of the act—for they prefer to have the public think that this invention comes from other sources. The fence is not so high that they cannot be seen by anyone with half an eye.

The system favored by the California commission is based upon the English law, with improvements indicted by the actual operation of that law which has been in effect in England since 1911. It was introduced in England by David Lloyd George and if health insurance is "Prussian autocracy" then Lloyd George is not Prime Minister but Prime Prussian to whom England has turned to lead her to victory over the Huns.

The commission is agreed that there must be free choice of doctor

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and that every physician and surgeon licensed by the State may practice under the act. There would be no medical examination for insurance or employment and no motive for either since premiums would be unaffected.

The compulsory feature is confined to the financial obligation—medical care is forced upon no one. Premiums must be paid, but there is no invasion of privacy or interference with private rights.

The question of cost is one that appeals particularly to the imagination of the opposition. As a matter of fact, the State now spends over two million dollars a year in the support of the destitute sick. Health Insurance would cost the State a maximum of a million dollars. The most complete system giving the sick workman two-thirds of his wages; providing medical and hospital care for the insured and his family; including maternity, funeral, special tuberculosis benefits, and dental surgery, would cost the insured only two cents on each dollar of his wages with a like amount from the employer.

The cash benefit insurance could be carried by the State, a fraternal order, or union, at the option of the insured. It is absurd to say that fraternals in good standing are threatened by this insurance.

The people do not vote upon the terms of the bill—as in workman's compensation and other legislation of this kind, all that is up before the people this November is an amendment to the constitution which gives the legislature the right to enact either a voluntary or compulsory health insurance bill.

The opposition would have you believe that this amendment is so revolutionary and sweeping in character that it repeals the initiative, referendum, recall, habeas corpus, capital punishment, free speech, free press, and leaves intact practically nothing but the multiplication table. William Carey Jones, Director of the School of Jurisprudence of the University of California and Acting President of the University, a recognized authority on constitutional interpretation, has written an opinion of the amendment commending it, characterizing it as "innocence itself" compared to the sweeping power given in other amendments, and calling attention to the fact that the proposed amendment "safeguards all the great prerogatives of the people, as well as leaving untouched the general and special safeguards of constitutional limitations."

Organized labor in California has made health insurance a matter of special business at the polls in November. It is not a matter that they can delegate to their representatives. In order to crystallize their endorsement of this measure into action, every man and woman in the labor movement must drop a ballot with a cross stamped after yes on the Health Insurance Amendment.

A short time ago the Bethlehem Steel Corporation, with the approval of the War Finance Corporation of the Treasury Department, floated a $50,000,000 note issue. As the Bethlehem company is engaged in an industry directly contributing to the prosecution of the war, the War Finance Corporation not only approved the note issue, but executed a contract for the purchase at par of $20,000,000 of the notes, under an agreement providing for a resale in the event that the entire issue of $50,000,000 was placed with the public. Subsequently the War Finance Corporation resold its $20,000,000 of notes at above par and therefore at a profit.

Truth scarce ever carried it by vote at its first appearance: new opinions are suspected and opposed without other reason but because they are not already common. But truth, like gold, is not the less so for being newly brought out of the mine.—John Locke.

Of such mighty importance man is to himself and ready to think he is to others, without once making this easy and obvious reflection, that his affairs can have no more weight with other men than theirs have with him; and how little that is he is sensible enough.—Swift.

Warren Construction Co.

San Francisco, California

The California Farmer-Labor Alliance

By Paul Scharrenberg.

For years we have been told that the primary producer is the backbone of the country. In a sense it is true. He provides a large part of our national revenue, and he does more than his share in opening up the country. Moreover, a country without a healthy, vigorous producing class on the land has no stable roots. Every European nation is beginning to realize this—even England, that for so

long hunted out the peasant to make way for the pheasant, and the crofter to give room to the red deer.

But since the very beginning the producer on the land has been told that his interests were diametrically opposed to those of the producer in the factory. The farmer was everywhere pitted against the worker. Unless he put down Labor, he was told by the people cadging for votes, he would be driven out of house and home, and have no land save the six feet of earth needed to bury him.

How does this work out in California? Is the worker the natural enemy of the farmer? Is he the man who swallows all the farmer's profits and keeps him poor and struggling? Let us see.

A California trade-unionist, who tried his hand at farming, relates the following:

"While in Turlock I got watermelon hungry, and bought a big one (some forty pounds) from a wagon, paying fifteen cents. About two weeks later, after I had returned to town, I went into our grocery to buy a watermelon, and got one about as large as the one I had got at Turlock. I was charged sixty cents. I said, here, why do you people skin your customers like that, when watermelons are selling at Turlock f. o. b. train at $6.50 per ton, and I told of the one I had bought for fifteen cents. As we were a good customer, he immediately went to his files, and showed me the actual invoice, which showed on its face that he had paid fifty-two cents for that melon, and had made only the reasonable profit of eight cents; for he had to haul it from the warehouse, take chances that some would be green, and other risk, and so on. So I ran that melon down. The railroad had charged four cents, warehouse costs two cents, legitimate commission charge three cents; the farmer had got 13 cents (for a forty pound melon), which, with the groceryman's 8 cents, aggregated 30 cents, which included all profits. Thirty cents or 100 per cent had gone into the stealage column in the line of parasites through which it had passed. The groceryman was earnest in the hope that some way would be devised to get into close touch with the farmer; for, as he said, he

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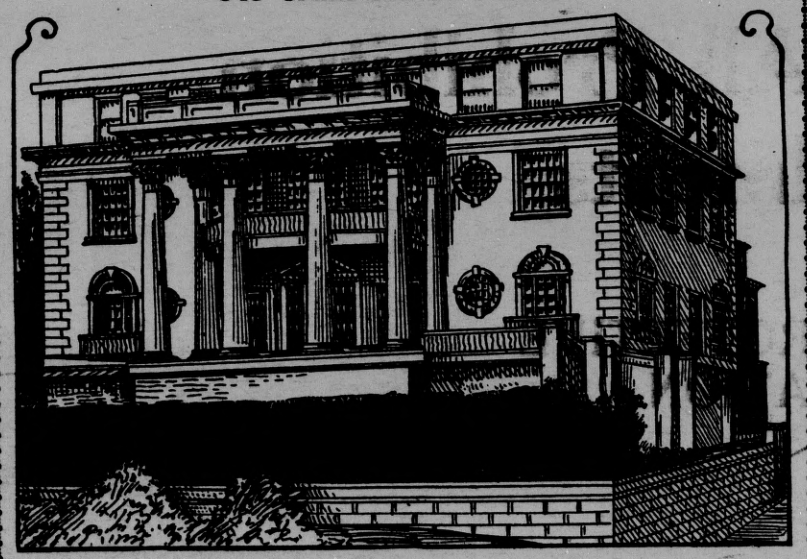

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could have sold that melon for 40 cents, and paid the farmer 25, if he could get away from the 'damned' commission merchant. He actually suggested organization among the retailers, although confessing it would fail until the farmers could organize upon a scale that would enable them to supply the market. I ran this down, and called upon a number of retailers in the 'white collar' district, over in the Mission district, in the Haight Street district and in the Sunset district, and failed to find a single one who did not express the same sentiment of my own grocer, and that they would gladly go into a combination to buy direct from the farmer if the latter could only organize and supply from their only centralized market."

This tale about the melon could be duplicated a hundred times, but one example will suffice to illustrate who gets the "farmer's profits."

But what are we to do about it?

Gifford Pinchot, representing the Federal Board of Farm Organizations, in addressing a recent convention of the American Federation of Labor, said:

"What power is there in this country that can stand against the just demands of the men and women who produce the raw material and the men and women who make up the finished product? One-third of all the people of the United States are farmers; at least one-third are wage-earners. One-third and one-third make two-thirds of the people of the United States. Banded together is there any power under heaven that can stand against the just demands which this two-thirds unite upon?"

Well, speaking offhand, two-thirds of the people in a given country should be able to get away with the remaining one-third every time.

As a matter of fact, however, a much smaller fraction than one-third has constituted the ruling or dominating class in most countries on earth. The war, too, has emphasized the truth of the old contention that mere weight of numbers in an unwieldy majority are no match to an efficiently organized minority.

Thoughts along these lines have actuated the organized farmers and the organized wage-workers in California to get together, first unofficially and informally, and more recently, at their respective conventions, in formal and official fashion, to determine upon what issues and problems there can be real co-operation. Here is the declaration of principles which the California Farmer-Labor Alliance approved on January 19th of this year:

"No. 1: The California Division of the Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union of America, the California State Federation of Labor and the Pacific Co-operative League, Inc., of California recognizing the mutual character of their interests and realizing the need for closer and more intimate association hereby form an alliance for mutual aid and support.

"No. 2: The name of this alliance shall be the California Union of Producers and Consumers.

"No. 3: Believing that the general aims and objects of each party are common to all three parties it is desired to bring the united support of the three bodies to the work of each one insofar as mutual interest and united opinion warrant.

"No. 4: It is understood that no public action in the name of the California Union of Producers and Consumers shall be taken except when the three component parts of the union shall have agreed upon such action. This is not intended to prevent any one of the three organizations from acting in its own behalf on any subject.

"No. 5: It is proposed by the California Union of Producers and Consumers to bring joint action to bear on pressing legislative changes; to further public ownership of all public utilities including transportation and communication; to free the land and society from privilege and monopoly and to provide a practical plan of co-operation for the equitable distribution of food and other necessities of life."

When this newly formed "Union of Producers and Consumers" had thus defined the principles which are to govern its future activity steps were at once taken to draft a joint political and economic platform relating to State issues.

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BREWERS' PROTECTIVE ASSOCIATION

After a number of meetings the following twelve planks were finally unanimously adopted on May 25th:

ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL PLATFORM.

Firmly convinced that victory in the war for world democracy is of prime importance we pledge all our resources and energies to that end.

As a means to insure victory for our valiant fighting forces abroad and at the same time perpetuate the march of progress within our own beloved California, we submit the following as our economic and political platform for 1918:

1. Tax on Idle Land.—The production of food being of utmost importance we demand legislation to force idle land into use by means of a graduated supertax on all uncultivated arable land.

2. Public Ownership.—Believing firmly in the equality of opportunity, we favor the public ownership of public utilities, including terminal warehouses and packing plants; we also demand permanent Federal retention of the railroads.

3. Co-operative Organizations.—Accepting voluntary co-operation as the most practical method for the equitable distribution of food and other necessaries of life, we urge upon the State Government to take up the question of the co-operative movement in connection with its activities relative to the high cost of living, with a view to utilizing the existing co-operative organizations for immediate purposes and encouraging the creation of additional co-operative organizations where they are needed and conditions are suitable.

4. Absent Voters' Law.—No citizen should be disfranchised in elections by reason of absence from his or her residence. We therefore favor the adoption of Assembly Constitutional Amendment No. 1, as a necessary step to enable the Legislature to adopt an Absent Voters' Act under proper safeguards and reasonable restrictions.

5. Farmer and Labor Representation.—Farmer and Labor representation upon all State Boards and Commissions is desirable in times of peace but becomes imperative during war. We therefore demand immediate representation upon price-regulating bodies. We also insist upon adequate Labor and Farmer representation on the Board of Regents of the State University which, being maintained and supported by all the people, should be at the service of every section of society.

6. Anti-Injunction Law.—The issuance of injunctions in labor disputes is not based upon law, but is a species of judicial legislation—that is, judicial usurpation—in the interests of the money power and against the working class innocent of any unlawful or criminal act. Injunctions as issued against workmen are never used or issued against any other citizen of our country. We therefore demand the enactment of a law prohibiting the issuance of such injunctions.

7. Health Insurance.—Recognizing that Health Insurance is the logical corollary of Industial Accident Insurance, we favor the adoption of Senate Constitutional Amendment No. 26 which will authorize the Legislature to enact suitable Health Insurance laws.

8. County Experiment Stations.—We favor an enabling act and an appropriation for the establishment of county fruit, and agricultural stations; the expense of such stations to be shared by the counties in which they are established.

9. Free Public Employment Bureaus.—Highly appreciating the value of the present State and Federal employment bureaus, we favor their extension throughout the State and demand that a much higher tax be placed upon private employment agencies operated for profit.

10. Development of Irrigation Systems.—We favor the federation of all irrigation systems under State auspices in order to promote their development and, where necessary, to arrange facilities for joint operation and to permit the manufacture and sale of electric power.

11. Constitutional Sanction for Safety Laws.—Present constitutional sanction for existing laws dealing with workmen's compensation, insurance and safety is deemed inadequate. We therefore favor the adoption of Senate Constitutional Amendment No. 30 as vitally necessary to establish this important work upon a firm basis.

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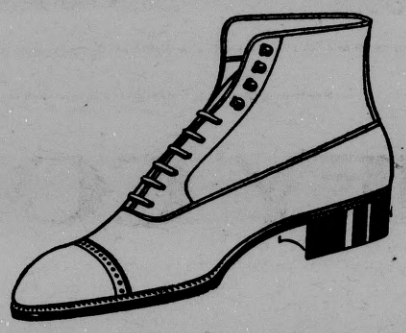

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In other words bread lacking in vitamines is not a good food, but supplied with vitamines it becomes probably the most valuable of all food products.

12. Preparation for Peace.—In view of the new and serious industrial and social problems created by the war, which will have to be faced with the coming of peace, we favor the appointment by the State of a representative reconstruction committee to devise plans for the orderly readjustment of our State in the difficult period of demobilization.

It should be understood that there has been no intention to put up candidates during the present campaign, nor has there been any desire to copy the methods of established political parties. The aim has been to make a State-wide campaign for the principles contained in the platform presented herewith, and one phase of this campaign has already been carried out. All candidates for the coming Legislature have been supplied with a copy of the platform and have been requested to give their views upon the twelve planks contained therein.

Trade-unionists throughout the State can materially help in this work by impressing upon the different candidates the fact that his own constituents are interested in the Farmer-Labor program.

Fred Millard (a farmer), of Los Gatos is the President of the new alliance. Daniel C. Murphy (a worker), of San Francisco, is the Secretary. Any inquiry sent to the latter at the Underwood Building, San Francisco, upon any phase of this great progressive movement will receive prompt attention.

So far as can be judged from personal expressions, letters and newspaper comment the new movement is decidedly popular.

Throughout the State, Central Labor Councils and local unions have unanimously approved the platform.

Of course, the future of the California farmer-labor alliance will depend entirely upon the interest and activity of the rank and file—the really useful two-thirds of California's citizenship.

Look for the best in men and that will bring out the best in yourself.—"The Watchman."

THE PLEDGE OF AMERICAN LABOR.

On this Labor Day, the day on which America gives formal pause to her endeavors to pay homage to her sons of toil, through whose creative energy the great machinery of her industries is evolved and guided, we the working people of America, make this declaration to our native land:

We are engaged in a great war for the preservation of our democratic institutions and for all the opportunities that lie only in democracy.

In this great struggle we know no cause but our nation's cause, we know no allegiance but to America.

We value above everything the Liberty for which America stands and we declare that no sacrifice is too great for the safeguarding of that Liberty.

We pay high tribute to the valiant American army in France and it is our great pride that thousands in that army have come from our own ranks.

We, in the work places of America, constitute the industrial army of our land, and we know full well the importance of this service.

We declare it to be our inflexible purpose to so order our conduct that our service may be of the highest value to our nation at war and we hold it to be a fixed principle that conduct which cannot be justified to our brothers on the firing line is intolerable and cannot be condoned.

We set above life itself the cause for which America has entered this war, and we proclaim our condemnation of all men and agencies which set themselves in the way of our course of victory.

We declare that the cause of America is the cause of humanity everywhere and that he who obstructs the defense of this cause by word or act is traitor to humankind.

We, the working people of America, on this Labor Day, renew our pledge and covenant to humanity, for the everlasting freedom of humanity through the institutions of democracy made safe from encroachment.

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AMERICA'S ANSWER.

By Chester M. Wright

Of the American Alliance for Labor and Democracy.

America's Answer!

It's a motion picture. It's a reality. It's a world wonder. It's something that is stirring the peoples of the world, giving them a new faith in human institutions, a new grip on idealism.

America's answer is the title of a motion picture produced by the film division of the Committee on Public Information. This picture will be shown throughout America. It shows Americans what Americans are doing in France—shows them in detail, in every phase of activity.

And the whole story is amazing!

If you have a neighbor who is lukewarm, who is a doubter, who thinks we're not doing things as they should be done, take him to see this picture. It is a record of achievement for Liberty's sake—achievement to be proud of, to glory in, to draw inspiration from!

This picture isn't propaganda; it is fact. If you were to be given a month in France, with freedom to go where you wished to go, you couldn't get as good an idea of what has been done there as you can get by watching this two-hour camera production.

Perhaps you thought the business of running the war was just a business of sending troops across the water and getting them into the fighting line. You'll find much more than that. You'll find industrial jobs of tremendous size being put over by the army. You'll see the men in olive drab building docks miles long; you'll see them putting up acres of warehouses and piling them full of thousands of cases of supplies. You'll see miles and miles of railroads, and you'll see huge locomotives, shipped from the U. S. A. You'll see a tremendous distributing center which is about the biggest railroad yard in France. You'll see a cold storage warehouse that will astonish you as it has astonished France.

Nothing illustrates the size of the job and the size of the force better than the huge piles of worn-out shoes and hats. These piles are like mountains. And the picture shows how shoes are repaired as long as they'll stand it and then cut up for laces to avoid waste of leather.

You'll see aged French women mending the uniforms of the

American soldiers—French grandmothers mothering the American legions of Liberty.

And there's a battle picture that'll make you get way up to the front edge of your seat! How they do pump those big guns!

It's the real thing, this picture. It's the real story—the story that America's been waiting for. Cold type can't tell it. There's too much action to be conveyed by type. It's the motion picture's great justification!

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I've seen a lot of the scenes shown in these pictures. I know these pictures are the real thing. But no civilian living will see in the original the whole story as the camera brings it to us here. Every American ought to see these pictures, if it takes his last nickel. They satisfy the longing for information; they are pictures of facts—big physical facts.

America's Answer is a big, thrilling, wonderful picture, because America's Answer to the Hun has been just that kind of an answer. You'll know what's going on after you've seen this official record of it all. And it is an official record, made by Marine Corps photographers under the direction of the United States Committee on Public Information, of which George Creel is chairman.

The American workingman, laborer, skilled mechanic, technical expert—all will be thrilled by what Americans of the same kind are doing over there in the service of Uncle Sam, for the sake of mankind's right to be free.

Yes, go to see this great picture—take your whole family, and, above all, see that every quibbler and doubter and faintheart sees it and gets its faithful recital of facts.

It's America's answer and every American's pride!

LABOR'S GLORIOUS CHAPTER OF NATION'S HISTORY.

By L. C. Hodgson, Mayor of St. Paul, Minn.

Among all the chapters that organized labor has written to its credit in the history of the country none is more glorious and splendid than the great chapter of the loyalty of labor in the United States in these great hours.

When the time comes that this war is over and peace is with us again, if any man should ever ask, "Was labor loyal?" the only answer we need give is, "America fought and won this war."

And you know and I know that if labor were not loyal, in vain we might attempt to win victory out of this great struggle.

The hosts of organized labor today are building this new United States and this new world. Labor is marching under the flag of this free republic today on the thunder-smitten hills of France.

The voice of labor mingles with the great harmony of freedom all over this land. We hear it in the music of the hammer and the anvil, in the flaming forge and mighty engine, on the battleship—everywhere the voice of labor.

Labor almost more than any other element of our society has caught the vision of what this great struggle means.

Labor has had this vision of a new world in which men should no longer have to fight for their rights.

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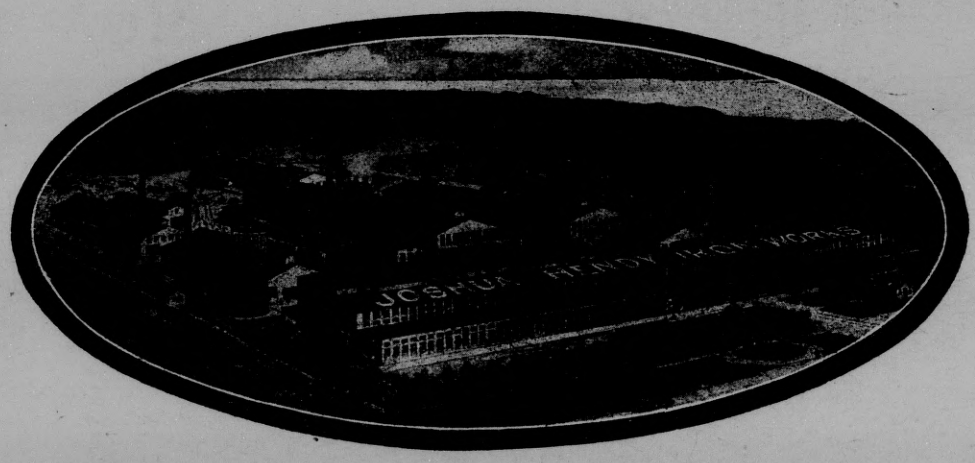

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LABOR DAY, 1918.

By Frank Morrison, Secretary, A. F. L.

When the comparatively few trade unionists of our various communities paraded on Labor Day, twenty-five years ago, their motives were questioned in many instances and newspapers gave them scant publicity.

This year, when the hosts of organized labor, now numbering 3,000,000 members, march in their "Win-the-War" parades, they will be acclaimed by those who formerly even denied their purpose.

This changed public opinion has been gradual through constant agitation, education and organization, but it has been quickened the past year because of organized labor's prompt acceptance of autocracy's challenge against democratic ideals.

Organized labor has not depended upon words to prove its patriotism. Its wholehearted support of the Government in the present crisis should be sufficient answer to any query on this subject. This support is of the kind that befits men and women imbued with our Republic's ideals and who realize that when a government is founded on these ideals fails, the loss is an individual one for every American citizen worthy of the name.

Organized labor distinguishes between a government that rests on the whim of one man or a small group of men and a government of, by and for the people.

Our 1918 Labor Day celebrations will feature this difference between the two systems of government, which are now struggling for the mastery. The thought behind these systems is older than any nation. In truth, nations are but an incident—but a process—in this struggle of human liberty and advancement versus the ancient theory of government so well illustrated by German Junkerdom.

Organized labor is not a peace movement. While we long for the day of industrial concord, when disputes between capitalists and laborers will no longer feature our industrial life, we refuse to paralyze our movement by surrendering the right to strike against wrong when other methods fail.

In a larger sense this theory is applicable to our Government when it calls for unity against an extension of those principles of autocracy which menace the majority-rule theory upon which our nation rests.

There are two freedoms—the false, where a man is free to do what he likes; and the true, where a man is free to do what he ought. —Canon Kingsley.

LABOR DAY, 1918.

By W. B. Rubin.

Labor Day, 1918, we greet you, Most Omnipotent Day!

To the Workers of the World, you are the day of days, the day of hope.

Labor has laid down its toil on this day to pay homage at the Shrine of Democracy.

Each Labor Day is a day of inventory, of past achievements and accomplishments.

But this Labor day finds Labor girded for the winning of the war and for the era of reconstruction after its successful termination.

A year ago, we found our nation in a state of supplication for hopeful results against the Kaiser forces of the world. This year, we meet in prayer for our continued successes against Prussianism. May next Labor Day find America in triumphant celebration of democracy's supremacy over a world's autocracy.

Organized Labor has proven its worth, has shown its patriotism, has merited its place in the galaxy of a world's recognition.

This is a war for democracy in which Labor holds the master hand, and without which the war cannot be won.

A year ago, the profiteer saw in this war visions of fabulous profiteering. This year, he finds himself summoned to answer at the bar of the nation's court for his unscrupulousness and graft, and awaits judgment and sentence. Next year shall find him with judgment in execution, and a nation exempt from profiteering.

A year ago, we had railroad barons and telegraph dictators. They have now been done away with, but we still have left other autocrats of industry. Next year, however, shall find these, too, banished from the democracy of this country.

Time is the wonderworker of the world. It is not only the healer of sorrow, but the mother of all hope. It is the constant wanderer between the cradle and the grave, and out of its eternal travail comes ever forth a fresh child of hope, a new man of destiny.

So today, a nation pays homage to two great Americans,—men of destiny,—first and foremost, the great President of the United States, the Honorable Woodrow Wilson, and by his side, and his aide, the great President of the American Federation of Labor, Samuel Gompers.

This Labor Day, Organized Labor is justly filled with pride and glory for her achievements.

The world greets you, Labor Day, 1918.

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MAKE READY FOR THE BIRTH OF A NEW DAY.

By James M. Lynch.

New York State Industrial Commissioner.

On this Labor Day, when for more than four years millions of men have been grappling in the most tremendous and momentous struggle that the world has known, other millions on this continent are evidencing love of country as well as observing and celebrating the victories of peace. It is meet, therefore, that we should take stock of ourselves and the conditions that confront us.

First, let us reiterate, and it is proper and essential so to do, that we are firm in our determination to win the war.

There must not be a peace by compromise. We demand that there shall be a decision that will spell the perpetuation of liberty, equality and justice. That the peace treaty shall not be so framed as to make certain another war.

Toward that end, that unequivocal decision, we pledge our lives, our labor and our substance.

So much for the war. Now, how about the preservation and growth of those ideals for which our fathers strove and suffered, and for which they founded the organizations of labor? Are these organizations to continue, to function, to gain in strength and service? In the field of legislation, are the beneficent statutes enacted for the protection and well-being of the toilers to be maintained and strengthened? Is the social program to be extended and broadened?

Wage-earners in other allied belligerent countries are not only asking these questions, but now, firm and active in their support of the war, are taking measures that will guarantee affirmative answers.

Not alone do they propose that the conditions under which men and women labor shall be made better, but, and this is the great and important point, these wage-earners propose that they shall accomplish these ends through the unions of labor and through their own representatives in the law-making bodies. They propose that their ballots shall be made to count in their unions and on election day. They propose to function politically through their own political organization, and then translate their demands into legislation through the representatives elected by their own party organization.

Even now we can sense the desire of the toilers in this country for a direct method of expression of their ideals, both political and economic. There is a growing feeling of solidarity and strength, and of conviction that mass action may not with the greatest degree of possible benefit be confined to the economic field; in other words, that the future welfare and progress of labor must be achieved through a combination of both economic and political activities.

In this connection, I can do no better than to quote the President of the United States. There can be no clearer expression of what I am attempting to convey than these views of the man who is leading the world today in the great struggle for the preservation of democracy.

"Every sign of these terrible days of war and revolutionary change, when economic and social forces are being released upon the world whose effect no political seer dare venture to conjecture, bids us search our hearts through and through and make them ready for the birth of a new day—a day, we hope and believe, of greater opportunity and greater prosperity for the average mass of struggling men and women, and of greater safety and opportunity for children.

"The old party slogans have lost their significance and will mean nothing to the voter of the future, for the war is certain to change the mind of Europe as well as the mind of America. Men everywhere are searching democratic principles in their hearts in order to determine their soundness, their sincerity, their adaptibility to the real needs of their life, and every man with any vision must see that the real test of justice and right action is presently to come as it never came before.

"The men in the trenches, who have been freed from the economic serfdom to which some of them have been accustomed, will, it is likely, return to their homes with a new view and a new impatience of all mere political phrases, and will demand real thinking and sincere action.

"The days of political and economic reconstruction which are ahead of us no man can now definitely assess, but we know this, that every program must be shot through and through with utter disinterestedness; that no party must try to serve itself, but every party must try to serve humanity, and that the task is a very practical one, meaning that every program, every measure in every program, must be tested by this question, and this question only: Is it just; is it for the benefit of the average man, without influence or privilege; does it embody in real fact the highest conception of social justice and of right dealing without respect of person or class or particular interest?

"This is a high test. It can be met only by those who have genuine sympathy with the mass of men and real insight into their needs and opportunities, and a purpose which is purged alike of selfish and of partisan intention."

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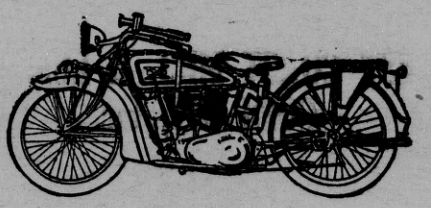

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Organization of the State Government

By John S. Chambers, State Controller.

EARLY HISTORY.

Following the conclusion of peace between the United States and Mexico in 1848, agitation was begun at various points in California for the calling of a convention to consider the matter of drafting a constitution and making application to Congress for the admission of California as a State into the Union. I shall not attempt to relate the efforts made to this end as they have no direct bearing upon the subject of this paper. Finally, General Bennet Riley, who was stationed at Monterey and who acted independently of others interested in the same subject, issued a call for a Constitutional Convention to be held at Monterey. His appeal met with a prompt response, and the convention assembled on June 3, 1849, with thirty-seven delegates.

The work of drafting the Constitution proceeded with fair rapidity. It was provided that when the Constitution was submitted to the people for ratification they, at the same time, should vote for a Governor, a Lieutenant-Governor, two Representatives in Congress, sixteen State Senators and thirty-six Assemblymen. The understanding was that if Congress should admit California as a State, then the officers selected at the election would immediately assume office. It was provided that certain other officers, for the first term, should be elected by the Legislature, and thereafter by the people. The Legislature also was to elect two United States Senators. The officials elected by the first Legislature were a Controller, a Treasurer, an Attorney-General, a Surveyor-General, and three Justices of the Supreme Court. The Secretary of State was appointed by the Governor. The first Governor of California was Peter A. Burnett, and the two United States Senators elected by the first Legislature were John C. Fremont and William M. Gwin.

Application was promptly made to Congress in February, 1850, for the admission of California into the Union as a State and the approval of the proposed Constitution, together with the seating in Congress of the Senators and Representatives as elected. The application occasioned a great deal of debate, but finally was approved, the Senators and Representatives seated, and the baby State authorized to begin existence under the officials selected at the Constitutional election.

EARLY FINANCIAL HISTORY.

Coming into the Union as she did, California, of course, had no probationary period, no territorial existence, and consequently the opportunity had not been presented by which money could be laid up in the Treasury. The result was that California began existence without one cent. From 1846 until 1850, the Federal Government, however, had levied certain taxes in California, the gross amount collected approaching the $3,000,000 mark. The people of the State, and particularly the Legislature, felt that California should have, if not all of this sum, at least a good portion of it, but repeated applications to Congress asking that this be done were refused, and, in my judgment, unjustly refused.

The first Legislature, having little hope of securing fair treatment at the hands of Congress, and needing money immediately, proceeded to endeavor to borrow $300,000, the limit of its debt-making powers under the Constitution. After considerable delay, it succeeded in borrowing $290,000 at 3% a month, or 36% a year! It was provided that this loan would be repaid in six months from taxes collected. As a matter of fact, it was not repaid for five years, the high rate of interest running all the time; and then it was not repaid from taxes collected, but out of the proceeds of bond sales. And these bond sales the Supreme Court shortly after declared null and void because the Legislature had incurred the indebtedness, which was away in excess of $300,000—in fact, several million—without the approval of the people. I am glad to say, however, that when the question of the repudiation of these bonds was laid before the voters of the State they elected by a good majority to pay the indebtedness.

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It will thus be seen that California got off to a flying start in the wrong direction in the beginning, that is along financial lines.

THE CONSTITUTION.

The basis of government in this State, as in the other States of the Union and the Federal Government itself, is, of course, the Constitution. As already indicated, the first Constitution was that drafted at Monterey and approved by the people. This continued in effect until 1879, when a new Constitution, drafted at Sacramento, went into operation.

It is not the purpose here to attempt to point out the differences existing between the two Constitutions. That would be a tedious, thankless and a profitless task.

But I do wish to say that the Constitution of the State government of California is a crazy-quilt. The bulk of its provisions should be statutory in character and not constitutional; that is to say, they should be merely laws enacted by the Legislature and subject to repeal and amendment by that body without reference to the public vote. In other words, the Constitution of this State, or any other State, should consist of fundamentals only and be as brief as practicable. This would make for flexibility. What I mean by this is that now nothing in the Constitution can be eliminated or amended except by submission to and approval by the people, which means delay, expense and loss. Our present system, to put it explicitly, is too rigid.

A Constitution covering the fundamentals would be ample for the protection of the people, particularly under the Referendum and the Initiative, and we then would be left in shape to mould our legislation promptly according to the trend and the exigencies of the times.

THE COURTS.

The Constitution provides that the State Government shall be divided into three great departments or divisions—the legislative, executive and judicial. We all know the functions of our courts.

The State Senate sits as a Court of Impeachment when the high officials of the State or the bench are involved. Any such judgment, however, rendered by the Senate setting as a court, merely means removal from office and disqualification to hold any office of honor, trust or profit under the State. But the party so convicted, or even if acquitted, is liable to indictment, trial and punishment according to law in the regular courts of the State.

The regular main courts of the State are the Supreme, the Appellate and the Superior. The Supreme Court consists of a Chief Justice and six Associate Justices, each of whom receives an annual salary of $8000. There are three District Courts of Appeal, each Court consisting of three Justices, and each of whom receives an annual salary of $7000. One-half the salary of each Superior Court Judge in the various counties of the State is paid by the State, the county paying the other half. We have, of course, a number of inferior courts in the incorporated cities, towns and districts of the State, such as Judges of Municipal Courts, Justices of the Peace, and so on.

THE GOVERNOR.

The executive department of the State Government is represented by the Governor. He is the chief executive of the State and is frequently so called. The salary now paid the Governor is $10,000 per year, with an annual allowance of $8750 for the maintenance of the gubernatorial mansion.

The requirements as to eligibility are that he must have lived in California for five years and be over twenty-five years of age.

The Governor transacts all executive business with the officials of government, civil and military, and it is his duty to see that all laws are faithfully executed. He is the commander-in-chief of the National Guard of the State. He has the direct appointment of many officials, and where vacancies occur has the appointment of many other officials, also. He is the keeper of "The Great Seal of the State of California," which only can be used for official purposes.

The Governor largely directs the policy of the State Government. Before taking up this phase of the executive office, I think it would be well to tell of other officers and departments, and the more important boards and commissions, reserving discussion, comment and suggestion for the conclusion of this paper.

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THE LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR.

The Constitution prescribes that a Lieutenant-Governor must be elected at the time and place and in the same manner as the Governor, and his term and qualifications shall be the same. He is made the President of the Senate, but shall only have a casting vote therein. His salary is $4000 a year.

One of the functions of the Lieutenant-Governor is to select the various committees of the Senate. Generally he does this after consultation with the Governor and the leaders of his party. Of course, where the Lieutenant-Governor and the Governor are not in political accord, there is a lack of unity, and the Governor is at a distinct disadvantage in getting legislation through the upper house. Under the old convention system, where the party nominees were thus named instead of being selected at a primary election, it usually was the case that the Governor and the Lieutenant-Governor elected were of the same party. Under our primary system, each candidate is free to run as an individual member of the party and not as one of a set of candidates selected by delegates to a convention.

This change went into effect under Governor Johnson, and the Lieutenant-Governor elected was John M. Eshleman, a man in complete accord with the Governor's policies and purposes. It will be recalled that he died during his term of office. Governor Johnson, under the power given him by law, then appointed William D. Stephens as acting Lieutenant-Governor. When the Governor resigned to take his seat in the United States Senate, Mr. Stephens then became acting Governor of the State of California, with all the powers and privileges and entitled to all the emoluments. There is at this writing no Lieutenant-Governor, nor will there be until after January 1, 1919. Senator A. H. Breed of Alameda County, who is President pro tem. of the Senate, is really Lieutenant-Governor in fact, though not in name, and should the office of Governor be vacated by the incumbent, he would become the acting Governor of the State and so continue until the first Monday in January, 1919. The office of Lieutenant-Governor possesses great possibilities, but it is not often they materialize.

THE LEGISLATURE.

The Legislature of California consists of two houses, the Senate and the Assembly, the former consisting of forty members and the latter of eighty. The term of a Senator is for four years, and that of an Assemblyman for two years, the salary of each being $1000 for each regular session and $10 a day during special sessions, with a contingent fund of $25 and mileage allowance. The Lieutenant-Governor is the President of the Senate, and it is the custom to name one of the regularly elected Senators as the President pro tem. The House is presided over by one of the members, who is elected under the title of "Speaker." Each House, of course, has its array of clerks and various other attaches. The Legislature meets regularly every two years, but is subject to the call of the Governor, in special session.

The main function of the Legislature is, of course, to enact laws. After organization is effected, bills are introduced, referred to their respective committees, and then voted upon. Frequently companion bills are introduced; that is, duplicate bills in each house. Sometimes a bill is introduced in one house only. But whatever method is adopted both houses must vote upon a bill before it can be sent to the Governor, and it only becomes a law with the approval of the Governor, except during the session of the Legislature when if a bill is neither signed nor returned within ten days to the Legislature it shall become a law as though it had received the signature of the chief executive. In the event of the adjournment of the Legislature, however, with bills still in the possession of the Governor, none shall become a law unless he shall sign the same and deposit it with the Secretary of State within thirty days after the adjournment, Sundays excepted.

In a very general way this outlines legislative procedure. I shall not attempt here to go into details as to the selection of committees, the reference of bills to these committees, their consideration and return to the respective house which referred them, because it is a matter of detail and routine common to all legislative business. Later on in this paper I will take up the functions of the Legislature in connection with the power and privileges of the Governor and deal with the subject from another angle which should prove of more interest, and certainly

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is of far more importance to the public than a description of the routine work of the Legislature.

I do want to say here, however, that during the 1917 session of the California Legislature, 1473 bills were introduced in the Assembly and 1203 bills in the Senate, or a total of 2676 bills. Resolutions and amendments of various kinds totalling 111 were introduced in the Assembly and 99 in the Senate, making in all a grand total of 2886 bills, resolutions and amendments submitted to the Legislature for consideration in a single brief session! Of the 2676 Assembly and Senate bills introduced in the Legislature, 803 were signed by the Governor, and of the balance 219 bills were "pocketed" during the thirty days following the adjournment of the Legislature, and 14 bills were vetoed during the session. Of the 210 resolutions and amendments approved, 81 reached the Secretary of State for filing.

Under a constitutional amendment adopted some years ago, our Legislature now meets in what is called "bifurcated" sessions; that is to say, the first month is given over to the introduction of bills, and the second session, following a month's intermission, to a consideration of the bills thus introduced. On the re-assembling of the Legislature, no bill can be introduced in either house without the consent of three-fourths of the members thereof, nor can more than two bills be introduced by any one member after such re-assembling. No bill passed by the Legislature and signed by the Governor can become a law until ninety days after the final adjournment of the session, except acts calling elections, providing for tax levies or appropriations for the usual current expenses of the State, and urgency measures necessary for the immediate preservation of the public peace, health or safety, passed by a two-thirds vote of all the members elected in each house.

The ninety-day provision is due, of course, to the referendum, so that if it is desired to submit to the people one of the proposed laws as passed by the Legislature, time thus will be afforded. Under the initiative, if a petition signed by qualified electors of the State equal in number to five per cent of all the votes cast for all candidates for Governor at the last preceding election, is filed with the Secretary of State, it then shall become the duty of that official to transmit the petition to the Legislature, which must either enact it or reject it within forty days. Any such law is subject to the referendum. If the Legislature shall fail to approve such a petition, then the Secretary of State must submit it to the people for approval or rejection at the next ensuing general election.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

The office of Secretary of State corresponds in a very general way with the office of the County Clerk. It is the duty of the secretary to keep a correct record of the official acts of the Legislature and the various executive departments of the State Government. Articles of incorporation of all corporations doing business in California are filed with him. Candidates for State office must also file their petitions with him. A deputy in his office is in charge of matters relating to the administration of the election laws of the State.

The Secretary of State is in charge of the corporation license tax collection department and is a member of the Corporation License Tax Exemption Board. Some years ago he also was in charge of the Motor Vehicle Department. It is his duty, among other things, to issue the Blue Book and also the official roster. The salary of the Secretary of State is $5000 a year.

THE STATE CONTROLLER.

The Controller is charged with the duty of superintending the fiscal concerns of the State; to suggest plans for the improvement and management of the public revenues, and to keep the financial accounts of the State. In short, the State Controller is the State auditor. His work along this line corresponds in a general way with that of the County Auditor. In addition, however to the auditing department of the Controller's office, he is, ex-officio, a member of the State Board of Equalization, with powers and duties equal to those of any of the elective members of that body; and also has under his direction the Delinquent Tax Land Department of the State, the Corporation Franchise Tax Collection Department, and the Inheritance Tax Department. With the Governor and the State Treasurer, he is a member of the board which passes upon the loans of State money to banks; with the State Board of Control, he prepares the budget every two years just prior to the meet-

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ing of the Legislature, and with the Board of Control and the Secretary of State, he is a member of the Corporation License Tax Exemption Board.

The emergency fund of the State, a fund created to supplement appropriations for the various offices and departments in the event that some urgent need arises which was not foreseen, is in the keeping of the Board of Control and the State Controller, requiring their unanimous vote before it can be drawn upon. The salary of the State Controller is $5000 a year.

THE STATE TREASURER.

The State Treasurer of California, as his title signifies, is the custodian of the money belonging to the State, or which may come into the State's possession pending final distribution. He has, of course, one great responsibility not coming to the other State officials in that he has in his charge actual cash, and therefore runs the greater risk. This money can only be paid out upon warrants issued by the State Controller, and these warrants can only be drawn as against approved claims which must have back of them appropriations or funds containing sufficient money. The salary of the State Treasurer is $5000 a year.

The State Treasurer is also the official who acts in the matter of selling bonds of State issue, and has very direct dealings with the banks of the State.

THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL.

The Attorney-General is the legal adviser of the State departments, boards, commissions and so on. It is his duty to prosecute in criminal actions and to defend State officials in civil cases. He also is frequently appealed to by the District Attorneys of the counties; and occasionally by the City Attorneys. His opinions are advisory, and do not carry, of course, the weight of a court decision. His salary is $6000 a year. All kinds of legal questions, important and relatively unimportant, are submitted to him constantly, and the responsibility resting upon his office is very great.

THE SURVEYOR-GENERAL.

The Surveyor-General is in charge of the public lands belonging to the State, and also is, ex-officio, Register of the State Land Office. He must keep a register of each class of land to which the State is entitled, showing the number of the survey or location, the name of the locator, description of the lands by legal subdivision, the price per acre and so on. He is the general agent of the State for the location in the United States Land Office of the lands desired to be selected and located in lieu of the sixteenth and thirty-sixth sections granted to the State for the use of the public schools. The work of the office is very intricate and requires skilled employees. The salary of the office is $5000 a year.

THE STATE BOARD OF CONTROL.

The State Board of Control is the successor of the old State Board of Examiners, and consists of three members each drawing a salary of $5000 a year. This board has developed into one of the most important branches of the government. Given great power under the law, it has, because of such power, gradually assumed more and more power until, with the Governor, it comes pretty near dominating the State system. Through its control of the purse strings, by a system of pre-audit which it has established, it is in a position to dictate policies. Undoubtedly, the Legislature which created the Board of Control had no such thought in mind, whatever may have been the purpose of the men who drew up the bill and put it through the Legislature.

But the Board of Control has done much good to date. It has done some harm, too; has made mistakes, some of them serious ones; has been arbitrary at times and unjust. But the purpose of the Board, generally speaking, although its personnel has changed a great deal during the past few years, has been high, as evidenced by its record up to the present time, and it is deserving of a great deal of praise for the results accomplished, regardless of whether the methods pursued were always generous, just and proper.

The Board of Control has very close supervision over the financial affairs of the various offices, departments, boards, commissions and institutions. Each of these, toward the end of the month, presents to the Board an estimate of expenditures for the coming month, in detail, and, as these are approved, the office concerned is authorized to incur the indebtedness. Then the bills are sent to the Board for audit, compared with the estimates, and, if found correct, are sent to the Controller for final audit and the drawing of the warrants if that official finds the claims in proper shape.

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The Board has three important subdivisions. One is the State Purchasing Department where the supplies for the various offices, institutions and so forth are bought; another the Accounting Department which audits the affairs of the various State offices, boards and so on, and which also is now engaged in putting in a uniform system of accounting for the counties of the State; and the Property Department where not only a continuous inventory is kept of the real and personal belongings of the State Government, but where a system of interchange is in effect and other modern business methods are in use.

Just preceding the biennial session of the Legislature, the Board of Control, with the Controller, prepares a budget for the consideration of the Legislature and the Governor, covering financial affairs for the coming fiscal period.

THE STATE BOARD OF EQUALIZATION.

The State Board of Equalization consists of four elected members, representing that many districts in the State, each drawing a salary of $4000 a year, and the State Controller, who is ex-officio a member of the Board with all the duties and responsibilities that go with it, but who is allowed no extra compensation for the work.

The Board of Equalization is the largest revenue-producing body in the state government of California. Under our present system of taxation, it is the principal duty of the Board of Equalization to place a tax upon the gross earnings of the public utility corporations, the capital stock of banks, the premiums of insurance companies, and the franchises of the common or ordinary corporations. As a result of its work, revenue in excess of $16,000,000 a year is now brought into the State Treasury, the Controller acting as the collector for the Board.

Prior to 1911 the state government taxed general property, but at that time abandoned this source of revenue to the counties and took over corporations exclusively.

It is not entirely consistent that the Controller, who is the head auditing official of the State and the head tax collector, should be a member of such a body as the State Board of Equalization. Moreover, his office has grown so in the past decade that he is compelled to scatter too much, and cannot concentrate as he should. As already indicated, his main office is the great auditing department of the State, and he has in addition the Inheritance Tax Department, the Delinquent Tax Land Department, the Corporation Franchise Tax Collection Department, and is a member also of the Corporation License Tax Exemption Board, the State Loan Board and the Budget Board, to say nothing of his work with the Board of Equalization.

THE RAILROAD COMMISSION.

The Railroad Commission of the State of California has general supervision over the railroads and public utilities, having the power of regulation, of establishing rates, adjustment of competition, and very direct control.

This Commission succeeded the old Railroad Commission, and has been one of the greatest agencies in the State. It has done a remarkable work in the regulation of corporations and the fixing of rates with due regard both to the welfare of the corporations and the people. It would not be possible in a sketch like this to go into detail as to its work, but sufficient has been said to indicate its character and its powers.

The Commission consists of five members, each at a salary of $8000 a year.

STATE ENGINEERING DEPARTMENT.

At the head of the State Engineering Department is the Superintendent, whose salary is $5000 a year. He is in charge of all construction work done by the State, such as the building of state hospitals and prisons, road work, and so on. Technically speaking, the State Highway Commission is under his supervision, but as a matter of fact its work is directed by three commissioners, each of whom draws a salary of $3600 a year, and is under the direct charge of an engineer whose salary is $10,000 a year.

NATIONAL GUARD.

The Governor of the State is the commander-in-chief of the National Guard, but the officer in direct command is the Adjutant General, whose salary until recently was $3600 a year, but who is now drawing $5000 a year. This increase is allowed and withdrawn at the discretion of the Governor. In ordinary times we hear very little

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about the National Guard, but since the great world war it has come into considerable prominence, and the people probably have realized that not sufficient attention was paid to military matters in times past.

GENERAL BUSINESS.

Under this heading we may place the Superintendent of Banks, whose salary is $10,000 a year, and which, with other expenses of his department, is paid out of the State Banking Fund, which is derived from the assessment of the various state banks for this purpose. As his title indicates, the Superintendent of Banks has supervision over the state banks, his duty being to see that the laws of the State are carefully followed by these institutions in order that the depositors and the public may be protected.

The Building and Loan Commissioner, whose salary is $3600 a year, has supervision over institutions of this kind, the purpose being to see that the laws are obeyed and the members of the building and loan associations protected. His salary and the expenses of his office are paid out of a fund derived from assessments against these associations.

The Insurance Commissioner is the state official charged with the duty of regulating the operations of the insurance companies within the State of California for the protection of the policyholders. Prior to this year, his salary was $4000 per annum; it is now $6000.

The Corporation Commissioner has very direct supervision over the corporations, particularly in the matter of those seeking charters. The law creating this office was known at the time as the "blue sky law." The purpose was to protect the public from unfair corporations, to save them from investing their money in fly-by-night concerns of neither standing nor merit. The salary of the Corporation Commissioner is $5000 a year, and is derived from fees collected, and so forth.

The Real Estate Commission is a new office created by the 1917 Legislature, the purpose of which is to regulate the real estate business of California and to place it upon a solid, legitimate basis. The salary of the Real Estate Commissioner is $5000 a year, and is paid, as are the expenses of the department, out of assessments placed upon real estate concerns.

The Superintendent of the Weights and Measures Department receives a salary of $3600 a year, and it is his duty to regulate weights and measures and weighing and measuring instruments and devices, and to provide for the inspection thereof; also to prevent the use and sale of false weights and measures and instruments and devices of that kind. This law is meant primarily for the protection of the people largely in their daily purchases for the maintenance of their households.

THE PUBLIC HEALTH.

The health of the people of California should be good if laws, commissions and boards can make it good. The main body under this heading is the State Board of Health, composed of seven members without salaries, and managed by a Bureau of Administration, in charge of a secretary whose salary is $4500 a year and an assistant secretary at $2400 a year. Then we have in addition, none of the members of which draw salaries although many are allowed expenses, the State Board of Medical Examiners, the State Board of Optometry, the State Board of Pharmacy, the Eclectic Medical Society and the Osteopath Association of California.

EDUCATION.

The state government of California is contributing annually to the support of the common and high schools of the State nearly $7,000,000. In addition, we have the great University of California, eight Normal Schools, the California Polytechnic School, the Hastings College of Law, the California School for the Deaf and Blind, and the Industrial Home for the Adult Blind. In addition, there is the State Board of Education, the six appointive members of which are allowed a per diem and traveling expenses, while the seventh member, who also acts as the secretary, is the Superintendent of Public Instruction, whose salary is $5000 a year; and, finally, the great State Library, with its numerous branches, the State Librarian's salary now being $5000 a year, the 1917 Legislature having raised it from $3600.

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$12 per capita. Of this great sum, nearly $11,000,000 was expended by the state government, but in this amount is included over $6,500,000 collected by the State as an agent for the counties and handed over to the counties for the support of the common and high schools.

STATE HOSPITALS.

We have in California seven great state hospitals for the insane, included the home for the feeble-minded at Glen Ellen, but not counting the new institution to be erected in southern California and known as the Pacific Colony, which is to be built for the benefit of defective children.

The hospital work is looked after generally by the Lunacy Commission, at the head of which is the superintendent, whose salary is $5000 per year.

The total cost of the state hospital system is, approximately, two and a quarter million annually, not counting new construction and maintenance.

I may add that we also have a State Board of Charities and Corrections which has general supervision over our prisons, reform schools, hospitals, and so on.

PENAL INSTITUTIONS.

We have two great penitentiaries in California, one located at San Quentin and the other at Represa, three miles beyond Folsom, in Sacramento county. Each penitentiary has its warden, but in general charge of this work is the State Board of Prison Directors.

In addition, we have for young offenders the Preston School of Industry at Ione, in Amador county, for boys; the Whittier State School for boys; and, in Ventura county, the California School for Girls. This last is a new institution. The girls formerly were kept at Whittier.

The penal and correctional institutions cost our state government over $1,000,000 a year for support and salaries alone.

AGRICULTURAL.

Our farmers, fruit growers and stockmen certainly should be well looked after in the State of California. We have the Horticultural Commission, the Viticultural Commission, the State Agricultural Society, the Dairy Board, the Board of Forestry, the State Market Commission, the State Veterinarian, the State Cattle Protection Board, Inspectors of Citrus Fruit Shipments, and, authorized by the Legislature of 1917, a State Land Settlement Board, the purpose of which is to acquire on behalf of the State an area of not more than ten thousand acres for sale on easy terms to settlers, the law going into much detail as to the purchase of this land, its preparation, sale, leases, etc. Approximately, the Horticultural Commission costs about $75,000 a year, the Viticultural Commission about $12,000, the Dairy Board about $35,000, and the State Board of Forestry from $20,000 to $25,000.

A state commission was appointed by the Governor, following the 1917 Legislature, to deal with matters relating to navigation, reclamation, irrigation and conservation.

We also have the State Water Commission, which consists of three members, each drawing a salary of $5000 a year, the main purpose of which is to see that water is put to its most beneficial use, whether for agricultural or industrial purposes. This is a very important commission. Its responsibilities are heavy, but it is gradually bringing order out of almost chaos.

There is, besides this, a State Irrigation Board which draws no salary, and a State Reclamation Board, the members of which are paid so much a day when in actual session.

LABOR.

Labor in the State of California also is well looked after if the number of boards and commissions may be taken as a criterion.

We have the Bureau of Labor Statistics, presided over by the Labor Commissioner, who deals more directly with the employment question. Then we have the Commission of Immigration and Housing, whose powers are very broad indeed in handling labor problems; the Industrial Welfare Commission, whose main duties relate to the employment of women and minors and minimum wage; and then the

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Industrial Accident Commission, which handles the Workmen's Compensation Law.

In round numbers, these labor boards cost the State $370,000 a year.

OTHER SUBDIVISIONS.

A great deal of space has already been given to little more than a mere enumeration of the various state offices, departments, boards, commissions and institutions. The more important of those not yet mentioned are as follows: The Fish and Game Commission, the title of which indicates its business; the State Mining Bureau, which also includes the supervision of oil properties; the State Civil Service Commission, the State Printer, the Superintendent of the Capitol Building and Grounds, the Legislative Counsel Bureau and the Motor Vehicle Department. There is, in addition, the Veterans' Home at Yountville; the Woman's Relief Corps Home; orphan and half-orphan support, and so on.

EMERGENCY FUND.

Back of the appropriations made by the Legislature biennially for the support of the state government and its subdivisions is an emergency fund, which, until this year, never exceeded $100,000. This emergency fund is in the custody of the State Board of Control and the Controller, and can only be drawn upon by their unanimous approval to supplement appropriations made and found insufficient.

This year, doubtless because the legislature felt that the war might bring unforeseen troubles, the emergency fund was raised to $1,000,000.

STATE POLICIES.

Under that division of this paper dealing with the office of the Governor of the State of California, I remarked that the chief executive largely directs the policy of the state government. Of course, as with everything else, the stronger the governor the stronger his control. While the position is still partisan, and probably always will remain so, it is now, under our primary system, the individual more than the party. Under the old system we had our party platforms prepared in convention, and a candidate was more or less bound by those declarations. Under our new system the candidate makes his own platform, as was well illustrated by Governor Johnson. But whether a candidate is elected under the primary or the convention plan, he will always find it necessary to prepare an alignment to strengthen himself and to insure, if possible, the adoption of the policies which he champions either personally or because of the platform adopted by his party.

Prior to 1916 governors sometimes sought alliances through the legislature by naming members of either house to state positions of profit. Such a method, of course, meant the building up of a "machine." While it is no longer possible to pull this particular string, governors can yet act upon the recommendation of legislators and name their friends. So this method of manipulation, while not as great as it once was, still exists. And good may follow from it as well as evil.

Of course, the governor is given a powerful club in the veto power that rests with him. Members of the legislature naturally are desirous of having their bills not only passed by both houses, but signed by the governor. They want to make a record that will appeal to their constituents. Sometimes their bills are good, and sometimes they are bad. But in either case the average legislator is not likely to go out of his way to offend the chief executive.

Under the subdivision dealing with the legislature, it will be recalled that I mentioned the introduction in the 1917 session of 2676 bills, of which the governor signed 803 and vetoed, either directly or by the "pocket" route, 233. In other words, he negatived the judgment of the legislature, consisting of 120 members, by vetoing 22 per cent of the bills submitted to him, and approved the judgment of the lawmakers by signing 78 per cent. This significant statement is sufficient to indicate the great power vested in the governor and his potential control of policies. It also raises the question as to whether this state of affairs is advisable or inadvisable.

The tendency in state governments, as in that of the federal government as well, is toward the encroachment upon the powers of legislative bodies by the executives. Is this a desirable development? In California, at least, the legislature has the power, by a two-thirds vote, of passing a bill over the governor's veto, but it seldom does

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so. And this power, of course, dies with adjournment, and so cannot affect bills left in the governor's hands for consideration during the thirty days immediately following the close of the session. The issue at bottom is centralization against more or less scatteration. Do we wish to fix responsibility very definitely or to pass it along so generally that it is not always possible to place the blame—or credit? Centralized authority down in San Francisco under former Mayor Schmitz proved a tragedy. So it gets down finally to the man rather than to the system.

The proposed New York Constitution, which was defeated in November, 1915, had among its underlying purposes the strengthening of the administrative branch of the government, particularly the office of governor, and yet it was defeated by a very decisive vote. It was a movement toward centralization really intended for the benefit of the people, and acquiesced in by politicians who personally dreaded such a change; yet the voters turned it down emphatically. New York publicists who made a study of the campaign and results laid the blame for the defeat of the proposed constitution to the ignorance of the people rather than to any intelligent opposition upon their part to the proposed change in the system. Those mainly responsible for the proposed constitution devoted most of their time to converting their fellow-delegates to the constitutional convention and ignored to a large extent the people. The result was that nothing like a clear understanding existed.

There are many able thinkers who favor a vast lawful concentration of power in the hands of the governer, holding him responsible for the financial and other programs. They advocate a system somewhat similiar to that of the federal government—a governor surrounded by a cabinet. A modified form of the British system has earnest advocates, too. It also has been suggested that two houses of the legislature are unnecessary, that one under present-day conditions would answer as well, particularly with greater authorized centralization of power in the hands of the chief executive. It is even suggested that if one house should be decided upon, its membership should be small and it should be in practically continuous session.

Governor Johnson prevailed so markedly because the legislatures that assembled during his terms of office were in accord with his plans and policies; that is, of course, a majority of the members. Had a majority opposed him, his veto power, of course, would have been very effective against the enactment of legislation of which he disapproved, but it would not have been absolute because a two-thirds vote would have overriden his veto. A governor, no matter how able, if strongly opposed by a real majority in the legislature, would have hard work accomplishing much of importance. He could be practically sidetracked. And so the issue in this connection is whether it is more desirable to continue as we have been doing with the possibility of the governor and the legislature getting into a deadlock, or changing to a system that would give the governor greatly enlarged powers of action, but at the same time fasten the direct responsibility upon him. We must bear in mind in this connection that the chief executives of our States, generally speaking, have been slowly but surely encroaching upon the legislative prerogatives. This encroachment is due to more than one cause. Of course, governors like to be as powerful as possible, but, beyond that, the efficiency that comes from centralized intelligent action has had much to do with the shifting of the currents in government.

FINANCIAL.

The people are hearing a great deal these days about the ever-rising cost of government, and it is well that they should hear such things. This subject illustrates particularly well the need of central responsibility. So many agencies are now involved in the expenditure of public moneys that it is a difficult thing to fix responsibility exactly. Of course, partisan newspapers and speakers will accuse the head of the state government of being responsible for extravagances and so on; and to a very large extent he necessarily is responsible for the cost of government during his administration. But all this is very different from having a system that directly recognizes a head —which should be the governor, of course—and which may go even far enough to have his administration stand or fall as his financial policies are approved or disapproved.

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As already indicated in this paper, the state government of California now derives the bulk of its revenue from the taxation of corporations. This source brings in about $16,000,000 annually. The inheritance tax is producing about $4,000,000 a year; the motor vehicle license over $2,000,000 a year; the corporation license tax about $800,000 a year; the interest on state loans to banks about $225,000 a year; the fees of the Secretary of State's office in the neighborhood of $160,000 a year, and so on down, with an approximate grand total of about $24,000,000. This does not include, of course, money received from the sale of state bonds and sources of that character. The state government of California last year—that is, the year ending June 30, 1917—expended $34,886,139.73. About $4,500,000 of this went for state highway and San Francisco harbor construction, while over $4,000,000 went for interest on and the redemption of bonds. Approximately, the state government of California proper is costing $17,000,000 a year. This is a very heavy increase over five and ten years ago, and there are no indications of a change for the better.

The budget as prepared by the State Board of Control and the State Controller for submission to the legislature which met in January, 1917, called for a grand total of $41,735,427.31, covering governmental expenditures of all kinds for the biennial fiscal period beginning July 1, 1917. This budget was very carefully prepared, and was based upon an intimate knowledge possessed by the members of the Board of Control and the Controller as to the needs of the various offices, boards, commissions and various institutions. The total was a decided increase over the budget as prepared for the Legislature of 1915, which was held down, then, because of an anticipated deficit in current revenues. In other words, the 1917 budget not only took care of its own increase, but also a good part of the increase that should have been saddled on the expenditures as recommended in the 1915 budget.

Yet when the Legislature of 1917 concluded its labor and all bills had been signed by the governor, the result was an increase of $4,373,598.35 over the 1917 recommendations of the budget board. It is only proper to say, however, that $1,000,000 of this excess was appropriated for the support of a state guard which has not yet been called into existence and probably will not be. Another $1,000,000 was set aside as an emergency fund, an increase of $900,000 over the average fund of this kind. The Council of Defense was given $100,000, and the balance of the increase over the budget recommendations was appropriated for normal school work in San Francisco, the Los Angeles harbor, the land settlement scheme, certain road work, etc. It is probable that $1,000,000 or more of this budget excess will never be called upon, but that will leave at least $3,000,000 appropriated beyond the estimate of the budget board.

A proposed constitutional amendment was adopted by the 1917 Legislature for submission to the people in November, 1918, making the budget system a part of the Constitution of the State, the Budget Board to consist of the three members of the State Board of Control, the State Controller and the Lieutenant-Governor. It requires that the budget so prepared shall be reported to the legislature in the form of two bills, one the general appropriation bill for the support of the government and the other an omnibus appropriation bill carrying special items for improvements and betterments. No bill seeking an appropriation for money, except these two bills, shall contain more than one item or appropriation, and that for one single and certain purpose.

This proposed amendment is all right as far as it goes; but does it go far enough ? It concentrates appropriation bills in very definite form and gives the privilege to one of the members of the budget board of appearing before the legislature to explain and champion the budget. This is new and good. But the legislature is in no wise bound by these recommendations, according to the amendment, nor is the governor of the State. In other words, the amendment does not offer a definite financial program directly fixing the responsibility any more than does our present voluntary budget system. The budget can be torn to pieces then as easily as now; it can be exceeded then as easily as the 1917 Legislature exceeded the budget of this year. The governor's administration neither stands nor falls with the treatment accorded the budget by the legislature.

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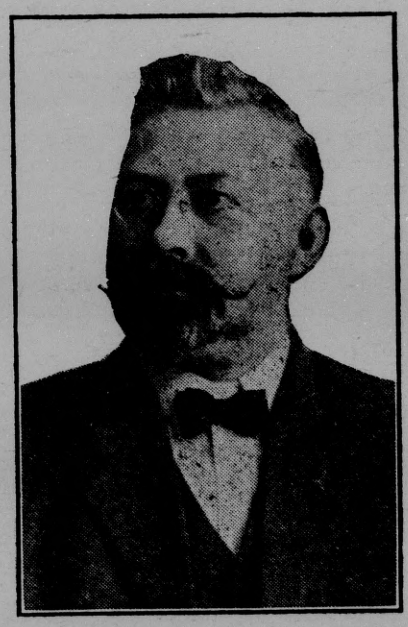

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Old-World Workers Behind War to Limit

Official Report of the A. F. of L. Mission to Great Britain and France

The "Labor Clarion" herewith gives its readers the report of the conferences held in Great Britain and France by the American Federation of Labor Mission. This report shows the official activities of the American trade unionists abroad. That section dealing with the official conferences follows in full:

The leaders of the British and French trade-union movements, having been informed by President Gompers of our mission, were eagerly awaiting our arrival. In London and Paris arrangements had been made to hold conferences at which the representatives of the movement in the respective countries would be present.

The conferences which were held proved of the utmost value, for they gave the opportunity for an exchange of opinions, viewpoints and policies which could not have been secured by any other method of communication. As a result it was possible for the mission to clearly and definitely state the attitude and policy of the American Federation of Labor upon the question of war aims, and, what was equally as important, give the reasons which had prompted the American trade unionists to adopt these policies which have so profoundly influenced the program of the movement in the allied nations. These conferences also gave us the invaluable privilege of meeting the leaders in Great Britain and France and receiving from their lips a concrete statement of the policies which they had adopted, and the reasons and conditions upon which these were based.

In both countries we found nothing but the heartiest approval of the war aims adopted by the American Federation of Labor, coupled with the oft-repeated assertion that our brothers in the allied countries had been greatly heartened by the position which the American trade-union movement had taken. They had looked to America for assistance in formulating sound policies, and their expectations had been generously fulfilled.

Upon but one policy was there a marked divergence of opinion, and upon this there hinged a question of the most vital importance.

The Blackpool convention of the British Trade Union Congress, in 1917, adopted a resolution which provided for the calling of a conference to consider peace terms at which representatives of the workers from all of the warring countries would be present. In February, 1918, an Inter Allied Labor and Socialist Conference was held in London at which representatives of the trade union and socialist movements of Great Britain, France, Belgium, Italy, Serbia, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Roumania, and South Africa were present. This conference adopted a memorandum of war aims which was accepted by those present as a guide for the workers in the nations which were represented. One section of this memorandum provided for the calling of an International Congress of Labor and Socialist organizations for the purpose of removing misunderstandings and obstacles which stand in the way of world peace. Such a conference would be held in a neutral country "under the auspices of an impartial committee," and would seat representatives from the central powers. As an essential condition, all organizations desiring to be represented would be called upon to state in precise terms through a public declaration their conformity with the principles of "no annexations or punitive indemnities and the right of all peoples to self-determination," and that they were working with all their power to obtain from their governments the necessary guarantees to apply these principles honestly and unreservedly to all questions to be dealt with at any official peace conference. Furthermore, the memorandum provided that such conference "provide an opportunity for the delegates from the respective countries now in a state of war to make a full and frank statement of their present position and future intentions, and to endeavor by mutual agreement to arrange a program of action for a speedy and democratic peace."

It was apparent to the members of our mission that there was a wide divergence of opinion between the leaders in both Great Britain

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and France as to the interpretation and construction to be placed upon the latter portion of the sentence quoted. To some it meant that the delegates at such an international conference would adopt resolutions or formulate policies or programs of a definite and all-embracing character; by others it was interpreted to mean that such a conference would not be permitted to proceed further than an exchange of opinions. In fact, one leading figure most prominently connected in Great Britain with the project of an international congress assured us in the most emphatic manner that he was opposed to having such a congress go further than conversations, and that he was opposed to having it take any action in any way binding upon any of the delegates. These statements were made before a joint session with the parliamentary committee of the British Trade Union Congress and the Executive Committee of the Labor Party, and were not challenged by anyone present. It is possible that there are leaders in Great Britain who are of the opinion that such a conference should adopt a program more or less binding upon the respective movements, and there are a goodly number who express the most vigorous opposition to any conference at which representatives of the workers from the central powers are seated until German armies have been withdrawn from the soil of France, Belgium, Italy and Russia, and the German military machine is no longer a menace to civilization. While the representatives from France at the Inter Allied Conference subscribed to the memorandum and today give support to the thought that an international conference should go no further than conversations, a number of the leaders in that country expressed the opinion that it would be folly to hold it unless binding action was taken. At the conferences held in both countries there were prominent leaders who naively informed us that it was the intention to make the qualifications for a seat in an international conference so stringent that representatives from the central powers would decline to be present, their failure to participate, should they so decide, supplying evidence that they were insincere in their desire to have a peace established which would provide equal justice and freedom to all of the nations involved in the war.

Our first conference with labor representatives was held in a chamber of the House of Commons, London, on April 17th, representatives of the Parliamentary Committee of the British Trade Union Congress and of the Labor Party being present. At this session little more than a limited reference was made to the war policies of the respective movements. On April 20th and 30th conferences were held with the same representatives in Central Hall, Westminster. At the first of these, the official actions of the American Federation of Labor upon the war were read from the convention proceedings, beginning with the resolution introduced by President Gompers at the Philadelphia convention, 1914, and including all that was adopted by the Buffalo convention, 1917, bearing upon our movement's war policies. This was followed by a lengthy statement covering the war experiences of our movement and the reasons which had prompted the American trade movement to adopt the war policies and aims which now determine its actions. In reply, representatives of the British movement gave us the benefit of many of their experiences. Much of the time was devoted on the part of some, who were prominent because of their positions, to a discussion of the reasons why in their opinion an international conference was essential. The opinion was expressed by one prominent leader that our American movement would be unfortunate if it maintained its position not to participate in an international conference, as one would be held, in all probability, without our presence; yet, later on, the same individual during the conference expressed the thought that should the position of the American Federation of Labor be maintained it would probably make the convening of an international conference an impossibility. From the opinions expressed, the mission is justified in assuming that the leaders in Great Britain are far from unanimous upon the question of the advisability of holding an international conference and that there also exists a divergence of opinion on the part of those who do, upon what it could accomplish and the conditions under which such a conference should be held. Many of those who believed in the holding of an international conference were vigorous in their belief that the German military machine must be defeated, their opinions being that

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such a conference would assist in bringing about this result through its influence upon the workers of Germany and Austria and the effect upon the workers in the allied countries should the workers of the central powers refuse to participate. With the exception of the self-confessed pacifists, we found the British representatives stoutly insisting that the allied armies must be loyally sustained by the workers in industry, and the German military machine defeated. There was also a unanimous agreement with the thought that the time had arrived when the trade-union movement should be more directly represented in international diplomacy connected with the war, and that there should also be a similar representation at the official peace conference following the ultimate armistice.

It was suggested that the mission, after having participated in the conference, should endeavor to determine the extent to which the American Federation of Labor's war aims agreed with those of the British Trade Union Congress and the Inter Allied Conference of February last. The mission, however, assumed the position that it had no authority to negotiate or agree relative to the actions taken by the labor movements in any of the allied countries. It held that it was only authorized to state the war aims and policies adopted by the American Federation of Labor and to confer with representatives of the labor movements of the allied nations so that an accurate report of their aims and policies would be submitted to the American movement. Furthermore, the members of the mission declined to take part in the consideration or adoption of any resolution which might have been introduced, or to make any public statement as to any points of agreement or disagreement which might exist in the war aims of the trade-union movements of America and the allied countries. By assuming this position your mission prevented any misconception as to its functions and the misconstructions and misinterpretations which might have been placed upon its actions by those who were desirous of discrediting it, or making it appear that there existed a difference of opinion, however slight, between the members of the American Federation of Labor.

Upon its return from France, the mission again met with the same group of British representatives, this conference being held on May 17th in Central Hall, Westminster. On this occasion the impressions received as the result of conferences with the joint representatives of the Confederation General du Travail and the Socialist Party were submitted, and the need for a closer and more continuous method of contact and communication with French trade unionists expressed.

In France there exists a joint representative body created between the Confederation General du Travail and the Socialist Party to consider all questions relative to labor war aims and policies. It was this joint body which welcomed us by a luncheon in Paris on May 5th. Several hours were devoted to a statement of the French and American labor war aims, and the ground prepared for the two conferences which took place the following day at the headquarters of the Confederation General du Travail. At the first of these the official reports of American Federation of Labor conventions were read, as they had been at our conferences in London, and the same explanation given. Those present representing French labor were in hearty agreement with the American Federation of Labor's war aims, though they differed somewhat with the methods adopted by our movement, and the great majority were opposed to the American determination to participate in no international conference until German armies were no longer a menace. One of the most prominent figures in the Confederation du Travail expressed the opinion, which was supported by practically all French representatives present, that an international conference was necessary, his conviction being that it would be possible to impress upon the German and Austrian workers that it was their duty to act for the general welfare of the workers of the world. If these representatives should refuse to agree upon just peace terms, then nothing would be left but to continue the war. He believed, however, that by meeting with them, action could be taken which would hasten peace and supplant plutocratic government by a socialist government. While our French brothers differed somewhat with the methods of the American Federation of Labor, they repeatedly expressed not only their unqualified approval of the American Federation of Labor's war aims, but their conviction that in adopting these

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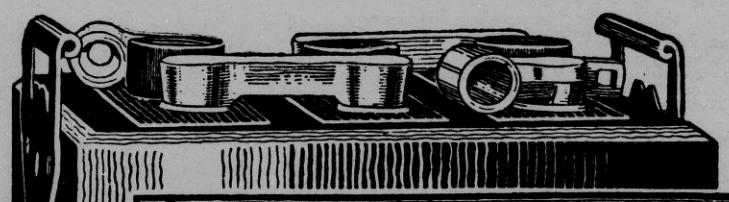

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the American labor movement had clearly shown the way for all labor movements to follow. We found during our conferences that among our French brothers there existed wide differences of opinion as to the methods by which war aims were to be applied, and that, as in Great Britain, there existed no small differences as to methods and policies between those who were purely trade-union representatives and those who represented the political groups assuming to speak for labor. As in Great Britain, efforts were made to have us commit ourselves to the points of agreement or difference which might exist in the program or methods of the two countries, but we declined to do otherwise than maintain the position assumed at the London conferences. Our French brothers had extended a most generous welcome to us, every courtesy was shown on their part, and the farewell which they gave conveyed in full the sentiments of affection for the personnel of the mission and their high regard for the American Federation of Labor. It is our opinion that much practical good will follow from the London and Paris conferences in which we participated. The press of both countries in more than one instance had failed to clearly and accurately express the American Federation of Labor policies, so that these had not been clearly understood, and several individuals, for personal or political motives, had evidently colored their statements relative to our movement to accomplish whatever purpose they had in mind. The misconceptions which had arisen were overcome through the presentation of the official records of the American Federation of Labor conventions, and if the mission accomplished nothing else, it succeeded in clearly stating the position of the American trade-union movement on the subject of war aims and policies.

The receptions tendered to the mission are referred to in a separate section of this report, but at this place we desire to refer to those which were given us by our British and French brethren. The Parliamentary Committee of the British Trade Union Congress and the Executive Committee of the Labor Party entertained us with a dinner and reception in the House of Commons on the day of our first conference. The following evening the Executive Committee of the General Federation of Trade Unions entertained us in a similar manner in the same historic building. Shortly before leaving England, Brother W. A. Appleton, general secretary of the General Federation of Trade Unions, who had just returned from his American trip, extended hospitality in the form of a dinner in the House of Commons. The standing Joint Committee of Industrial Women's Organizations gave a tea and reception to the women members of our mission, and as we were leaving London the joint Parliamentary Committee and Labor Party said their farewell at a luncheon which they had provided. In addition, a number of special dinners and luncheons were given to individual members of the party. At these dinners and receptions the most hospitable cordiality was extended, and hearty good wishes expressed for the continued success of the American Federation of Labor and its president, Samuel Gompers. In France the joint committee of the Confederation General du Travail and Socialist Party entertained us at an elaborate luncheon and the day following again extended proverbial French hospitality at a luncheon. Only our short stay in Paris prevented our participation in other receptions which they had arranged for our entertainment.

Frederich Wilhelm Nietzche was one of the most noted of modern German philosophers. How much has his philosophy affected the views and character of the Germans of today? Is not the answer written in the blood of the women and children, the old men of occupied France and Belgium? Are not the Luisitania victims witnesses to German adoption of Nietzche's faith? Here is his indictment of Christianity: "With this I conclude, and pronounce my sentence: I condemn Christianity. To me it is the greatest of all imaginable corruptions. The church is the great parasite; with its anemic idea of holiness it drains life of all its strength, its love, and its hope. The other world is the motive for the denial of every reality. I call Christianity the one great curse, the one great intrinsic depravity, the one great instinct of revenge, for which no expedient is sufficiently poisonous, secret, underhand, to gain its ends. I call it the one immortal shame and blemish upon the human race."

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Massacres Directed From Berlin

The reasons influencing German diplomacy to countenance, direct and even provoke systematic outrages, massacres and deportations of Armenians by the Turks are at last laid fully bare to the world by Captain Jingheusian, who served for three years in the Armenian volunteer section of the Russian army fighting the Turks in Asia Minor. Captain Jingheusian, though an Armenian by birth, was raised and educated in the United States, became a chemical engineer from the universities of Wisconsin and Chicago, and held many important positions on American railroads before the war broke out, wherefore his words on the subject bear more than ordinary weight with those who knew him here. From a recent article from his pen we quote the following salient passages:

While serving under General Antranik, who commanded the Armenian volunteers, I saw endless proof of German guilt.

One million Armenians are dead, massacred by Germans and Turks. Germany not only did not seek to use her boasted Christianity in halting the outrages; she deliberately fomented these massacres.

As far back as 1913 the extermination of the Armenians was planned. In that year Dr. Paul Rohrback, a political theorist of Berlin, high in the councils of the pan-German party, suggested to the imperial council that the Armenians should be transported to the plains of Mesopotamia, where they could the better be made to serve German trade. The kaiser was then planning to operate the railroad between Berlin and Bagdad. Dr. Rhorback said "The Armenians will always fight Turkey so long as you permit them to live in the mountains. Take them from their homes, situate them in the fertile Mesopotamia plains. Thus you remove them from endangering the co-operative work of Germany and Turkey and make them produce food and trade for us."

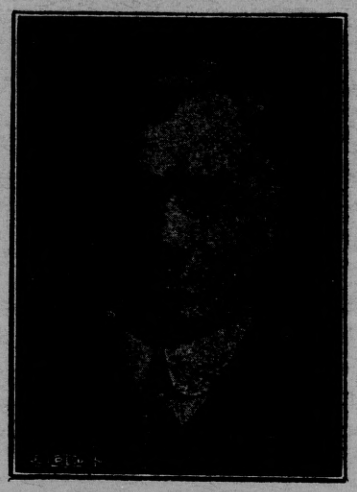
Then the war broke out, coming upon the eve of the deportations. This spurred Turkey to greater action and she began to move thousands of Armenians toward the Mesopotamian front, burning their villages, killing the villagers too old or too young to work. Herr Wangenheim, the German ambassador, handed the Turkish government, the week the war began, an official wire from Berlin which assured the Turks that it would be the policy of the imperial German government not to interfere with any military plans the Turks might choose to make to preserve order in their domains.

It was accepted everywhere in Turkey on its face value. Everyone knew what it meant. Germany deliberately condemned Armenia to death.

Scores of German missionaries all over Armenia, many of them pretended servants of the church for years, greeted this declaration of war by throwing off their religious garments and appearing in the uniforms of German reserve officers, armed with swords, directing the killing, using their knowledge of their parishioners' homes and habits to guide the Turks in murder and rape.

All over Armenia German officers appeared at the head of the murderous Kurds and Turks. They directed the deportations and in many cases the outrages. I did not hear more than ten instances of German officers intervening to curb slaughter, and I know of scores and scores of instances where they provoked slaughter, even compelled their Mohammedan followers to commit crimes that sicken even the bloodthirsty Turks.

In the execution of the policy of paying as large a proportion of the expenses of the war by taxation as possible the Treasury is making every effort to collect all Federal taxes due to the United States. The department has evidence against many who have sought to evade taxes. Some of these tax evaders are American citizens residing or sojourning in Canada. A corps of specially trained revenue agents will be sent to the Canadian communities where many of these tax evaders reside to obtain tax returns from them.



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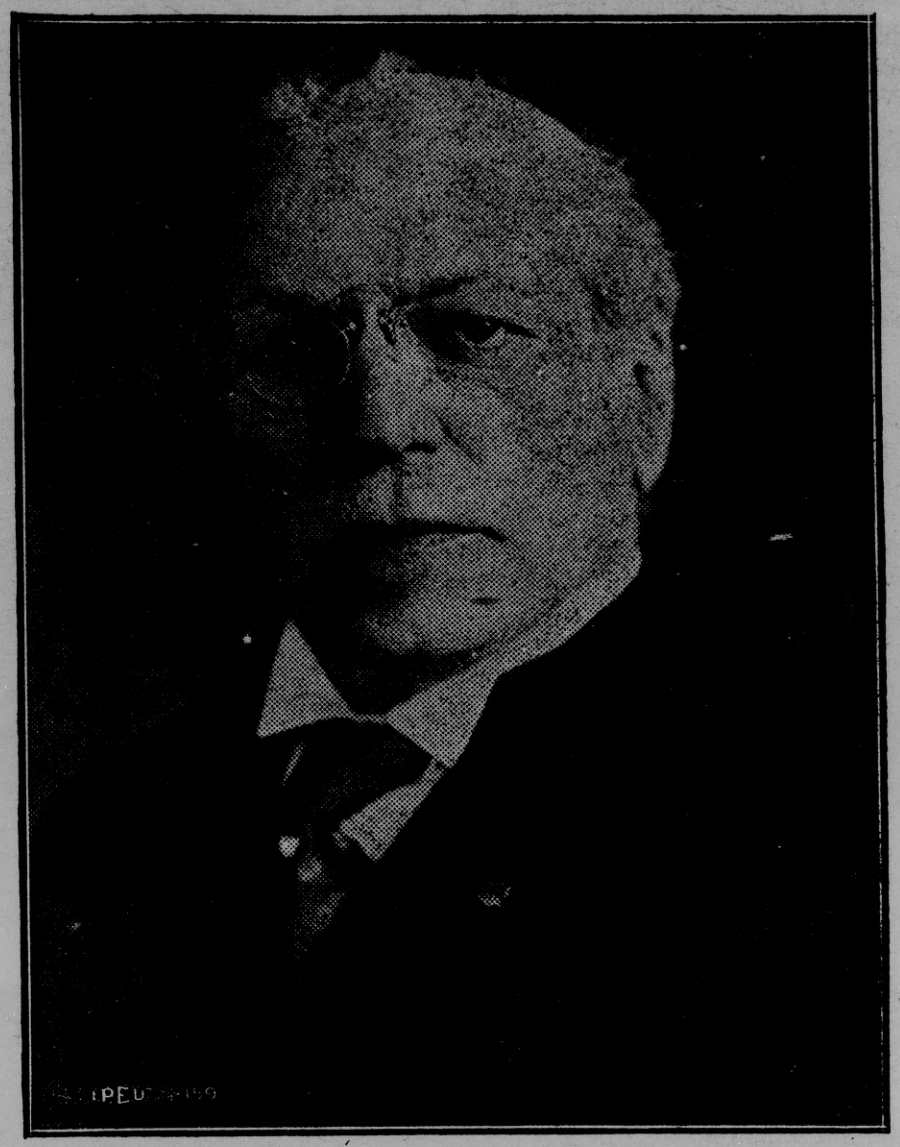
The Workers and The Eight-Hour Day

A Reply to the Socialist Politicians' Pamphlet and Pronunciamento, in Which Their Mask of Hypocrisy is Torn Away and the True Inwardness of Their Antagonism is Disclosed, and Labor's Position for the Attainment of an Eight-Hour Workday—a Shorter Workday—is Set Forth. By Samuel Gompers.



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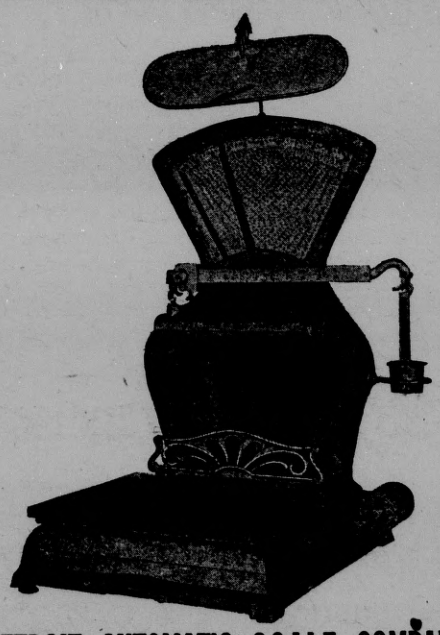

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The Socialist political party is at it again. The history of the American Socialist party is a series of efforts to subordinate the trade-union movement to its party politics or to destroy what it could not control. Again it has made an open attack upon the American Federation of Labor. This time upon a new tack, but with the usual bitter antagonism characteristic of the attitude of political Socialists to the work and the policy of the trade-union movement and the practical struggle for the attainment of a better life and immediate industrial benefits and withal to maintain freedom and human liberty.

This last attack of the Socialist political party takes the form of a pamphlet issued by its executive committee avowedly for the purpose of establishing *by law* an eight-hour workday for all working people, but really for the purpose of misrepresenting the principles and discrediting the purposes of the trade-union movement, in order that more votes may be secured for the Socialist party. The Socialist party hopes to profit by disrupting the trade-union movement. It has issued a pamphlet attacking the A. F. of L. and its delegates and officers because at the Philadelphia convention the following was adopted:

A. F. OF L. POSITION ON EIGHT HOURS.

The A. F. of L., as in the past, again declares that the question of the regulation of wages and the hours of labor should be undertaken through trade-union activity and not be made subjects of law, though legislative enactment, excepting in so far as such regulations affect and govern the employment of women and minors, health and morals and in employment by federal, state and municipal government.

SOCIALIST ANXIETY OR HOSTILITY.

Though for years it has been very industrious in devising plans to hamstring the A. F. of L., and has never hesitated to try methods of any nature to attain that purpose, now the executive committee of the Socialist party announces its great solicitude lest the A. F. of L. shall be injured, its standing impaired, its future endangered, by the action of the Philadelphia convention in declaring that it is safer, surer and more comformable to success with freedom to secure the eight-hour day, or a shorter worday, by economic action than by the effort to secure it by law. Such touching anxiety! Such sublime disregard of the fundamental fact that trade unions are economic organizations seeking to attain an economic purpose—the limitation of working hours by economic forces and methods.

It is surely quite pertinent to inquire why the Socialist political party of America and its leading spokesman are so solicitous for the progress and continued strength of the A. F. of L., and to investigate those matters upon which they have attitudinized toward the A. F. of L.

The trade-union movement was firmly rooted and had become a real agency for industrial betterment for the wage-earners before Socialistic political teachings had been foisted upon them. The American workers regarded the Socialistic party schemes for redeeming and regenerating society as an exotic of more or less interest, but of no practical value in helping them to higher wages, shorter workday and better working conditions for themselves.

But the zealots and the political partisans were determined that the American workers should be saved from their "narrow" conceptions that improvement of working conditions depended upon their ability to control economic forces. Accordingly the zealots sought converts to the political faith. The American wage-earners were loth to be caught—they chose substantial, immediate benefits rather than promises of sun, moon, stars and earth and the fullness thereof at some indefinite future. Then, as ever has been the practice of dogmatic saviors of mankind, the Socialist politicians sought converts by force and by guile. Since the trade-union movement would not willingly place its power at the services of the Socialist political party and swell the votes for Socialist seekers of offices, the Socialist party determined to capture the trade-union movement.

THE "ENTERING WEDGE."

In 1890 the first open effort was made to gain an entering wedge for the party to dominate the labor movement of America. The Central Labor Union of New York City, dominated by the Socialist political party, surrendered its charter to the A. F. of L. Later, desirous

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of retrieving its mistake, the C. L. U. made application for a charter, which was refused because the Socialist political party was represented in the central body. Upon this issue, the Socialists determined to make their fight upon the A. F. of L. They planned to make a great onslaught upon the A. F. of L. convention at Detroit. The party leaders came with the backing of the political Socialists of America for the purpose of dominating the convention and forcing an economic organization to recognize the right of a delegate of a political party to representation in its deliberations.

Lucian Sanial presented credentials to the Detroit convention from the New York Central Labor Federation. That body was not chartered by the A. F. of L. and the credential was not accepted; nevetheless Mr. Sanial was given an opportunity to make a statement. I reported the New York situation to the convention. The matter was also discussed in the executive council's report.

In my report I said: "Some few months ago the Central Federation of Labor of New York City made an application for a certificate of affiliation. It was accompanied by a list of the organizations attached to that body. At the head of the list was the name of the American section of the Socialist labor party. The matter received my keenest thought and best judgment. I consulted the constitution and saw there clearly defined which organizations were entitled to affiliation with the A. F. of L. The Socialist labor party or any other party or section of a party is not included among the number. But apart from any constitutional considerations, I believed then and am convinced now that the Socialist labor party, *as a party,* is not entitled to representation in a purely trade-union organization."

The matter occupied two days of discussion at the convention, as well as the consideration of a committee, which recommended the following:

First—That we recommend the cordial acceptance of the proffered fraternity of the S. L. P. as embodied in the address of Mr. Sanial. The hope and aspiration of the trade unionists is closely akin to that of the Socialist. That the burden of toil shall be made lighter, that men shall possess larger liberty, that the days to be shall be better than those that have been, may properly be the ideal of those in all movements for labor reform.

Second—We recognize, however, that men of different schools of reform thought often to seek to arrive at the same end by different roads. This right of difference must be considered. This is the logical outcome of variation in circumstances, of birth, education and temperament. *We affirm the trade-union movement to be the legitimate channel through which the wage-earners of America are seeking present amelioration and future emancipation. Its methods are well defined, its functions specialized, its work clearly mapped out.*

Third—We further hold that the trade unions of America, comprising the A. F. of L., are committed against the introduction of matters pertaining to partisan politics, to the religion of men or to their birthplace. We cannot logically admit the S. L. P. to representation and shut the door in the face of other political organizations formed to achieve social progress. We are of opinion that a political party of whatsoever nature is not entitled to representation in the A. F. of L. While, therefore, deprecating the necessity which has arisen of refusing to admit those who seek our comradeship, we feel compelled to make the following recommendations:

First—That the credentials of Lucian Sanial, from the Central Labor Federation of New York City, be returned.

Second—That the position taken by President Gompers and the executive council in regard to the old charter of the C. L. F. of New York be affirmed on the ground that the C. L. F. did virtually cease to exist and forfeited thereby its charter.

Third—That the decision of President Gompers against granting a new charter to said organization be affirmed, as the decision by this body is in accord with the meaning and intent of our constitution.

Fourth—That the delegates to this convention, while declining to admit representatives from S. L. P. as a political party, declare themselves tolerant of all phases of the reform movement and would

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bar no delegates as an individual because of his belief, whether radical or conservative.

W. J. SHIELDS, FRANK L. RIST,
JOHN B. LENNON, FRANK K. FOSTER, Secretary.
W. J. CANNON,

A lengthy discussion ensued, but finally the report of the committee was adopted by an overwhelming vote and has stood as the position of the A. F. of L. ever since.

The central body of New York receded from its position, excluded the representatives of the Socialist political party from representation and applied for a charter. The charter was then granted, and the New York Central Federated Union has been in entire harmony and cordial relations with the A. F. of L. from that day to this. That ended the effort of the Socialist political party to secure direct representation as a party in the councils of the A. F. of L. or in its central bodies.

THE NEXT MOVE.

But the party did not desist from its efforts to control or destroy the trade-union movement, as a few instances will tell.

In 1893 Mr. Eugene V. Debs, while an officer of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, accepted the presidency of the so-called American Railway Union and worked with might and main for the extermination of all the railroad brotherhoods, the bona fide unions of the railway workers. Mr. Debs was supported in his efforts by the Socialist political party of the country, which endorsed the new organization.

Later, Mr. Debs having failed in this one object, he dissolved his American Railway Union and established the so-called American Labor Union, with the avowed purpose of crushing the American trade-union movement as comprehended and understood by the wage-earners united in the A. F. of L. In this course of action he had the fullest support of the Socialist political party of America. Because the political partyites who claimed to be inspired by utopian ideals but condescended to the political practices of machine politics of the type used by corrupt politicians, were still unable to dominate the American labor movement and harness it to their political kite, they undertook to organize an economic movement that would be all their own, and, therefore, pliant and usable. Then the Socialist political party entered the economic field where the workers were already organized and began "to organize."

The so-called Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance was launched with the open declaration that it was to destroy and drive out of existence the A. F. of L., and to supplant it by their high-sounding titled organization. That, too, went by the board.

In 1905 was formed the preposterous Industrial Workers of the World, and again the "trade-union movement was doomed." The same Socialist representatives who had taken the initiative in every effort to break down trade unionism assembled for the creation of this new enemy masquerading as a movement of the workers of the world. But these artificialities could not be engrafted upon the healthy normal American trade-union movement.

The Socialist political party adherents openly declared and fondly hoped that this newest effort would surely within a very brief time disintegrate the trade-union movement, the A. F. of L. How these conglomerations, these fantastic vaporescences—the creations of the fervid brains of the Socialist political party leaders—fared, is history too well known to be recounted here.

Less than a year ago, Mr. Eugene V. Debs made a stirring appeal for the disruption of the A. F. of L., addressing himself to the United Mine Workers of America and to the Western Federation of Miners, exhorting them to withdraw from the A. F. of L. and to set up a rival organization to it.

But neither the irritating pin-pricking tactics of the Socialist politicians' local assaults and disrupting methods, personal attacks upon and vilifications of trade unionists, nor vulture-like attacks upon the labor movement, have prevented the growth and the forward progress of the A. F. of L.

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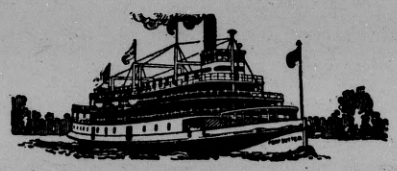

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form or another never halted, never stopped, in the effort either to capture the A. F. of L., the trade-union movement, or, in the language of the street, "to put it in a hole."

After being frustrated in the effort at direct representation of the party in the A. F. of L., proposition after proposition was introduced in order to commit the organization to Socialist policies. For fully fifteen years, at each successive convention of the A. F. of L., Socialist representatives sought to fasten upon the movement a declaration favoring state socialism, the government to be the employer, the workers to enlist to toil in governmental employment wearing industro-political straightjackets. To quote again Brand Whitlock's trenchant remark, "Socialists would provide for everything except freedom." Beaten and halted by the discussion and the unfailing discernment and uncompromising decisions of the delegates to the conventions of the general labor movement of America, this pretentious effort of the Socialist political party failed to fasten its tentacles upon our movement.

The party leaders changed their attack and then began a campaign subtle in conception and superficially plausible. The new cause they espoused was for the election of officers of the A. F. of L. by the initiative and referendum. Now, no liberty-loving, progressive man can oppose the largest liberty and opportunity for activities of the rank and file, particularly in determining who their officers for the time being shall be. The Socialists knew that the proposal to elect the officers of a federated movement by the initiative and referendum was impracticable, but they hoped to embarrass the A. F. of L. by forcing it to oppose what superficially seems a democratic proposition. After a thorough investigation of the entire subject, a report was made thereon to the Rochester convention, showing clearly, first, that the largest number of the organizations affiliated to the A. F. of L. did not have the machinery by which the initiative and referendum could be carried out, and that this method, therefore, was impossible of introduction; secondly, that no national labor movement of the civilized world had established the initiative and referendum as a system by which its officers were elected. Still, this campaign of the Socialists was used for several years in an effort to create dissension, or at least to create the impression that the trade unionists desired to deny the workers the fullest and freest expression of their will. Finally it had worn itself out and was abandoned for a new attack.

Because the officers of the labor movement endeavored to bring the gospel of labor to large employers with a view to reaping some advantage to the toilers of our country, they were made the object of vicious and defamatory attacks. The Socialist politicians tried to create the impression that their efforts to further the welfare of the workers were efforts to work in collusion with the employers of labor. The charge, no matter how often and insistently repudiated by the leaders of the labor movement of our country, was repeated with ever increasing virulence. Over and over in written and spoken statements I have repeatedly asserted that there was not and could not be harmony of interests between workmen and employers, but that has not stopped willful misrepresentation. If any reader doubts what I here aver, ask any Socialist politician.

The Socialist politicians knew well that there was no ground for charges and insinuations of insincerity or faithlessness on the part of the American trade unionists, but they predicated their campaign of misrepresentation and vilification upon the old concept that if mud is thrown often enough and in sufficient quantities, the hope may be entertained that some of it will stick.

But hopes and concepts in this direction have miscarried and the campaign of opposition was then changed to another tack. This time it was to raise the hue and cry for so-called "Industrial Unionism, one big union." And this doctrine was harped upon in season and out of season for several years in the effort to have the American trade-union movement disrupt organizations which have done so much for the toilers in improving their standards and conditions of life, and follow the will-o'-the-wisp.

The executive council made a comprehensive report to the Roch-

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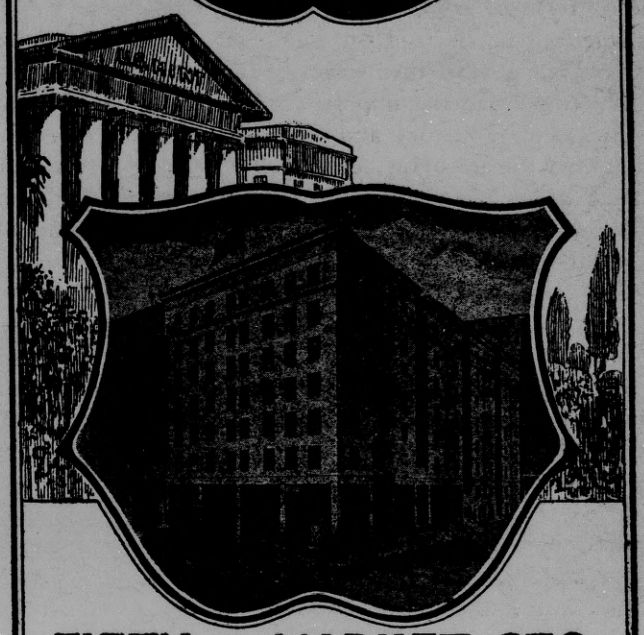

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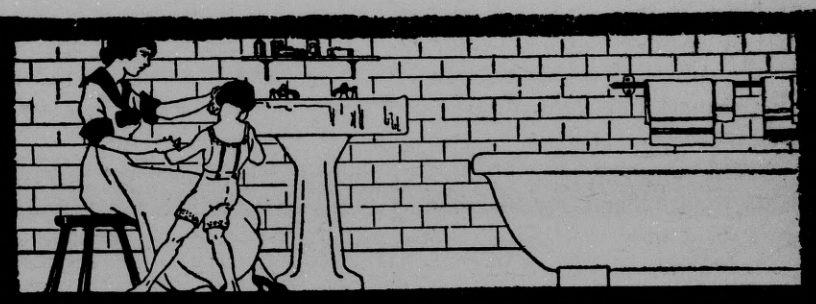

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ester (1912) convention upon the subject of industrial unionism. In that report they called attention to the natural development of the trade-union movement of the country; to the fact that the forms of present organization were the result of adaptation to circumstances and needs, and that the guiding principle underlying all policies was self-government. The committee made the following fundamental declarations:

The future success, permanency and safety of the A. F. of L., as well as the trade unions themselves, depend upon the recognition and application of the principle of autonomy, consistent with the varying phases and transitions in industry.

It is impossible to define the exact line of demarcation where one trade or form of labor ends and another begins and that no hard and fast rule can be devised by which all our trade unions can be governed or can govern themselves.

We emphasize the impossibility of the establishment of hard and fast lines; but if history and experience in the labor movement count for aught, we urge upon our fellow-workmen that toleration and forbearance which are proverbial of our movement, for, without the recognition and application of these qualities, any decision we may formulate will be futile.

The committee recommended that there was no need for a radical change from the policies that the A. F. of L. had pursued, for they believed that the greatest freedom was necessary for the greatest progress and development and furthermore recommended that the interests of the trade-union movement will be best promoted by closely allied and subdivided crafts, giving consideration to amalgamation and to the organization of district and trade-union councils.

When that bubble of industrial unionism, "one big union," was punctured by showing that the American labor movement had been working and was still striving to bring about the closest alliance, cooperation and amalgamation among the organized workers of America, the Socialist party politicians again changed their tack. And this, the latest effort, is to have America's workers commit themselves to a movement for the establishment of the eight-hour workday by law in private industry.

The A. F. of L. has always advocated independent political action and the independent use of the ballot. It has always held that the wage-earners must regard the attitude of candidates upon industrial problems rather than the parties to which they belong. It has held that by withholding endorsement of any particular party it maintained its freedom and power to secure from any or all of the parties necessary demands in return for Labor's support upon a particular issue. Labor has been partisan to principles rather than to parties.

The wage-earners have been immediately concerned with establishing for themselves economic freedom and better conditions of work, and they realize that these problems have to be worked out in the economic field. However, when the employers of labor began to employ political forces in industrial contests they waged with their employees; when the courts discovered the use to which injunctions could be put to oppose the effort of the workers in establishing more advantageous relations with their employers; when all the machinery of law and government was invoked to oppose the working people in their efforts to better their conditions; when the highest court of the United States interpreted the Sherman anti-trust law in such a manner as to endanger the very existence of the organizations of labor, it became manifest that the wage-earners must adopt an immediate political policy that would secure immediate relief from perversions of judicial agencies and the misrepresentation of legislation by judiciary. The need was imperative. In order to make action effective, Labor must secure immediate and positive results.

The A. F. of L. decided upon the only political policy that promised any effective relief, and in 1906 inaugurated its active political policy for the purpose of defeating its enemies and securing the election of those who were favorable to human rights and legislation necessary to maintain those rights. The A. F. of L. appealed to the Congressmen who were powerful enough to enact the necessary legislation. In 1908 it had secured endorsement for its demands in the party platform of one party.

There was no possibility that the Socialist political party could

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have secured the enactment of the legislation necessary to protect the existence of organized labor within a century, and yet because the American trade-union movement did not allow the necessity of Labor to become a Socialist political asset in their futile effort to introduce the Socialist "co-operative commonwealth," the Socialist political party denounced the effort of organized labor to secure remedial legislation and interposed all opposition within its power to the success of that action. It made this opposition despite the fact that it was well known that political action was necessary to insure the existence of organized labor. This "dog in the manger" policy was willing to have the trade-union movement destroyed unless it would consign its welfare to the hands of the Socialist political party.

In Germany, where the trade unions are forbidden to take any political action, no matter what the purpose may be, this dogmatic attitude is carried even to such a length that Carl Legien, president of the International Federation of Trade Unions, was forbidden under the laws of Germany even to send to trade unions of other European countries letters containing the declaration of the Seattle A. F. of L. Convention in connection with disarmament and the advisability of promoting a "naval holiday" in order that an end might be put to the competition in armament between nations. Thus political activity of the German trade-union movement is prohibited—a position much to the liking of the party there.

But the political policy adopted by the A. F. of L. proved effective. By constant agitation and dissemination of the facts in regard to legislation, and the legislative records of representatives and senators, the attitude of the national Congress became increasingly sympathetic toward the needs and the demands of organized labor. The fundamental political demand of organized labor was for a law which should exempt the workers wholly from the purview of trust legislation and which would free them from awards and jails for the exercise of those activities necessary to make effective the purposes of the labor movement.

A. F. OF L. TRUST AND INJUNCTION LEGISLATION.

Only upon the hypothesis that human workers were of the same substance and class with the products which they produced could trust legislation be interpreted to apply to them equally as it applied to the commodities and articles of commerce which they produced. Labor denied this hypothesis and asserted as the basis for its legislative demands that labor power is inseparable from the human body and hence cannot be a commodity or article of commerce. Before it was possible to secure the enactment of legislation specifically assuring wage-earners the right of organization and the right to such activities as are necessary to make organization effective, organized labor sought to have the fundamental principle for which it contended incorporated into the law. A strategic opportunity presented itself when the provisions of the Sundry Civil Service bill was under consideration. In connection with the appropriation for the Department of Justice, Representative Hamill of New Jersey offered the following proviso:

Provided, however, that no part of this money shall be expended in the prosecution of any organization or individual for entering into any combination or agreement having in view the increasing of wages, the shortening of hours, or bettering the conditions of labor, or for any act done in furtherance thereof not in itself unlawful.

SOCIALIST BERGER'S ANTI-LABOR VETO VOTES.

This provision is based upon the principle that trust legislation does not apply to organizations of wage-earners. Its embodiment in a federal law was of fundamental strategic importance to Labor in the campaign it was making to secure remedial legislation. The very fact that Congress went on record as endorsing the principle after having thoroughly discussed its application was a great victory for Labor. However, during the closing days of his administration, President Taft vetoed the appropriation bill, and gave as his sole reason for that veto the fact that the bill contained the above quoted provision favorable to Labor. When the bill was returned to the House and was again under consideration for passage over the veto of the

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President, Congressman Victor L. Berger, the only Socialist Congressman up to his time, voted to sustain President Taft's veto of that bill. Mr. Berger is one of the Executive Board of the Socialist political party which prepared and issued the pamphlet under discussion attacking the A. F. of L. In no more definite manner could the only representative of the Socialist political party have demonstrated his hostility to the interests and purpose of the trade-union movement than by thus joining the enemies of human rights and the advocates of special privilege.

And now the Socialist political party is expressing great solicitude for the preservation of the A. F. of L. It is deeply concerned lest the trade-union movement should go wrong. Members of the Socialist political party are apprehensive lest in advocating an eight-hour law they may be stigmatized as enemies of Labor, but they have already earned that distinction by their incessant opposition to the trade-union movement, emphasized by the action of their one representative in Congress.

The A. F. of L. has never denied that political action is necessary to protect some of the interests of the wage-earners and to secure for them the greatest amount of freedom. It has never held itself aloof from political action, as the annual reports made to the conventions of the A. F. of L. prove beyond a doubt; as the activities of the trade-union movement in every State and community prove. What the wage-earners have been able to secure because of their economic strength is set forth in the various annual reports that I have made to the International Federation of Trade Unions. These constitute a splendid record of legislative gains, both State and national. They show that the trade unionists are fully aware how to use all agencies to promote their welfare. The only real grievance that the Socialist political party has against the American trade-union movement is that these magnificent gains have been made without the assistance of that party, aye, despite its hostility.

Did the Socialist political party at any time in the history and in the work of the A. F. of L. support any fundamental declaration or policy which the A. F. of L. has made, or any effort made in pursuit of its work? If that organization has done so it has escaped my most vigilant concern. Our efforts to secure constructive and remedial legislation have always been underestimated, ridiculed and antagonized. The Socialist party would have the masses of Labor to wait until "the dawn of a new era" which they might inaugurate at nine o'clock some morning if it did not rain.

Upon the question in which there is practically unanimous sentiment among the people of America and many of the other civilized nations of the world, to protect our civilization from the influx of the hordes of Chinese, the Socialist political party is on the other side. The American people have recognized the necessity for self-protection against practically unrestricted immigation. The Socialist political party has antagonized the workers of America in every movement to secure protection along this line.

When the Congress of the United States passed an immigration regulation bill by an overwhelming vote, President Taft vetoed it and the "only" Socialist Congressman, Victor L. Berger, voted to sustain Mr. Taft's veto.

A. F. OF L.'S CAMPAIGN FOR FREEDOM.

When the United States Supreme Court interpreted the Sherman anti-trust law to apply to the working people—to the trade-union movement—and when the judiciary began issuing unwarrantable injunctions and the A. F. of L. undertook a political campaign for the purpose of securing relief from both these wrongs, the Socialists raised a howl of denunciation and abuse, but never gave an utterance in support of the workers' campaign for relief. They denounced and antagonized that effort by every means at the party's command. When the Clayton Act became law, and since, there has not been one word uttered by a member of the Socialist political party or one utterance in its press upon the legislation but what belittled the protective labor features of the law.

The antagonism continues despite the fact that section 6 of the Clayton Act contains a legislative declaration of such far-reaching

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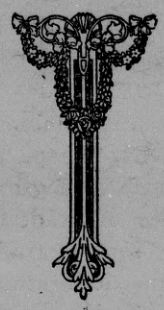

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significance that it takes a place among the great declarations for human freedom. The declaration is *That the labor power of a human being is not a commodity or article of commerce.*

In the reports which as President of the A. F. of L. I submitted to the International Secretariat containing the economic and legislative achievements in federal, state and municipal legislation in the interests of the workers, and which were published by the Secretariat as well as in the columns of the *American Federationist,* not one single word of Labor's achievements in America has been recorded, much less commended, by the Socialist political party press. Whenever an injurious act has been committed against Labor, the Socialist party is not wanting in its howl of denunciation, not for remedy, but for votes.

SOCIALISTS AIDING A. F. OF L. OPPOSITION.

The labor movement of America has had considerable internal strife, as seems inseparable from every great mass movement of human beings engaged in a struggle involving human interests, welfare and progress.

Was the Socialist political party in any one of these controversies and disputes on the side of the American trade-union movement? When the International Association of Machinists became affiliated to the A. F. of L. and another small organization of machinists was sought to be brought into the folds of the machinists, the Socialist political party was against the A. F. of L. and for the maintenance of the separate existence of the small group. When Mr. Debs organized his American Railway Union as against the Railroad Brotherhoods, they were with the rival organization. The American Flint Glass Workers withdrew from the A. F. of L. and the politicians were against us; that we finally brought about the reaffiliation of the organization upon an honorable basis to the satisfaction and advantage of all, counted for nothing.

When the Reid faction of the electrical workers seceded from the bona fide International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers and the A. F. of L. recognized the bona fide affiliated organization of electrical workers, the Socialist political party was against the A. F. of L. and with the seceding faction, and maintained its support all through. The fact that the policy and activity of the A. F. of L. officers and rank and file brought about a reconciliation and that there is now one recognized bona fide organization of the electrical workers of America has counted for nothing with the Socialist politicians.

The secession movement in the garment workers and the perversion of the bona fide Journeymen Tailors' Union met with the heartiest support of the Socialist political party. That due to the efforts of the A. F. of L. a reconciliation is being brought about, and a movement establishing more harmonious relations among the tailors and garment workers of America is being worked out, is receiving not the slightest consideration or support from the Socialist politicians.

And be it understood that Mr. Victor L. Berger is one of the gentlemen forming the official group of Socialist political party men who have issued the pamphlet for the evident purpose of forcing the A. F. of L. to adopt declarations to abandon its economic effort to secure not only the eight-hour workday, but a constant reduction of the hours of labor by the exercise of economic power of the organized labor movement of America.

The Socialist party recommends political action for securing the economic purposes as well as all purposes of the wage-earners, but it will countenance no activity that does not bear its own party symbol and which does not further exclusively Socialist dogmas, labeled as such.

SOLICITUDE FOR A. F. OF L.'S WELFARE.

In the foreword of the pamphlet the National Executive Committee of the Socialist party explain their reasons for its publication. They state that they wish to draw the serious attention of trade unionists to the action of the Philadelphia convention upon the matter of securing the eight-hour day by law. A later statement in the official organ of the Socialist party contains what is probably a more accurate version of their reasons. In the official statement the party

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frankly avows that the pamphlet is for propaganda purposes. It is as follows:

"The national Socialist party is anxious to get the names and addresses of Socialists who are members of labor unions.

"It wants the help of the Socialists in the unions to get them. You have all heard of the great pamphlet, Are the Workers of America Opposed to an Eight-Hour Law? If you will send in a list of five or more Socialists and Socialist sympathizers who are members of your union, giving the name of the union, and the full name and address of the members, we will send you free a copy of this great pamphlet. You can get the names from your union secretary."

This statement reveals that the Socialist political party is not solicitous lest the A. F. of L. be destroyed, but that the Socialist political party shall get control of the trade-union organizations of the country.

In the second paragraph of the foreword is this statement: "The A. F. of L. has declared that it will hereafter oppose any proposition to establish by law an eight-hour day for male adult workers." This statement misrepresents the action of the Philadelphia convention. Whether the misrepresentation occurs through accident, through ignorance, or deliberate purpose, it is nevertheless a misrepresentation and cannot be excused in an official statement which is consciously dealing with a matter of so great importance. There is a vast difference between opposing any proposition to establish by law an eight-hour day for male adult workers and the surer method of securing a universal eight-hour day for all workers by the economic action of the workers themselves in private industries. The latter is the true position of the A. F. of L.

The third paragraph contains this statement: "This action of the A. F. of L. is bound to create an immense discussion in labor circles and it is important that every trade unionists should be familiar with the facts." If it is important that every trade unionist should be familiar with the facts, why does not the Socialist party publish in its entirety the official report of the discussion upon the subject that took place in the Convention of the A. F. of L., and then, if it desires, supplement that report with its own comment? If the Socialist political party desires to get before trade unionists the facts, why does it deliberately select only a few and the least important statements from a few of the addresses made during that discussion, and then comment upon these selections in such a manner as to create a false impression of the whole discussion? Why in this "accurate statement of facts" by the Socialist party are extracts given from remarks of a selected few delegates and the remarks of other delegates omitted entirely?

In the fourth paragraph of the foreword the Socialist party again makes plain the reason for its extreme solicitiude and again proves that that solicitude is for votes for Socialist political party and not for the welfare of trade-union movement. It enumerates the number of Socialist party representatives in the state legislature and in the national Congress, and states that these Socialist party representatives are pledged to support the principle of a law securing the eight-hour day for all workers whether in private or governmental employment. This is followed by a statement in the next paragraph that the action of the Philadelphia Convention of the A. F. of L. will detract from the importance and the influence of these representatives, by demonstrating the fact that the principle of regulating hours of work by law is not endorsed by the great mass of the wage-earners of the country who are represented by the action of the A. F. of L. The Socialist political party fears that this action of the A. F. of L. will be an impediment to their representatives in their efforts to "secure the enactment" of Socialist legislation.

In the next paragraph is expressed the fear that the Socialists, fighting for an eight-hour law, will be denounced as an enemy of Labor. When did the Socialist political party ever appear in any other guise than as an enemy to the efforts of trade unionists to secure economic welfare and political and social rights? Does not the history that has just been related prove that the Socialist political party is the most dangerous enemy with which organized labor has to contend? In this very statement the Socialist political party is guilty of the most in-

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sidious effort to discredit the trade-union movement by making it appear that trade unionists are "lining up with manufacturers" to prevent the wage-earners from securing eight hours; when as a matter of fact the trade-union movement is doing more to secure an eight-hour workday than it could by any other policy. There is not and never was an agreement or united action of the manufacturers and the A. F. of L. on any subject. There has never been any such agreement and we defy the Socialist political party, or any other organization, to produce any proof to the contrary. On the other hand, we challenge the Socialist political party to produce all of the facts of their opposition of Labor's political campaign in Maine in 1906, or the presidential campaign in 1908, and to show the source from which the money came to finance their campaign in opposition to Labor.

The Socialist political party thinks that by attaching an epithet it proves a fact. It declares that the policy of the A. F. of L. is a betrayal of Labor which brings down upon the head of the A. F. of L. a storm of indignation. As a matter of fact, the only "indignation" that has been aroused has been that of the Socialist politicians, and even that evinces disappointment because they were thwarted in their effort to capture and control the A. F. of L. The injustice of the epithet that the Socialist political party attach to the A. F. of L. policy is demonstrated by the many achievements and the many benefits that the American trade-union movement has secured, not only for the organized wage-earners but for the unorganized.

The A. F. of L. has been the only force that has been able to secure for the wage-earners of the United States the eight-hour day, whether that prevails in private or governmental industry. There is no other organization potent enough to secure an eight-hour law for governmental employees or to secure from employers the eight-hour day for workers in private industries. No one denies that wherever the eight-hour day now prevails, it prevails as a result of the power of economic organization.

The Socialist party is the instigator back of propositions to secure the eight-hour workday in private industries by legislation. The eight-hour measures of California and Washington emanated from Socialist party sources. That party in its pamphlet usurps the right to speak for the wage-earners. This is the same Socialist party that has failed in its pretensions to establish international relations that would preclude war. It has failed to advance any constructive industrial plan or to accomplish any achievement. It has failed to secure any practical political results. It has failed to establish a new society.

For the last few years it has had a decline in total membership, losing members in the industrial centers. Does this fact warrant the Socialist party in speaking for all the workers?

The Socialist pamphlet furthermore states, "for now when the effort of the masses of working men to obtain an eight-hour law is growing everywhere, the A. F. of L. deserts them, it is safe to predict that the A. F. of L. will ultimately suffer the most." Wherever the proposition has been advanced to secure a general eight-hour law which shall apply to workers in both private and governmental industries, that proposition has emanated from the Socialist party.

There is no general and no growing effort of the masses of working men to obtain an eight-hour law which shall apply to all workers. The Socialist political party has here usurped the right to speak for all working men and it further abuses that usurpation by misrepresenting the desires of the working men. The A. F. of L. could not desert the working men, for the A. F. of L. is the working men. The Socialist political party thinks that by loudly and persistently and unceasingly proclaiming Socialistic political tenets, it can create the public impression that socialistic misstatements are really the desires of the "Masses of Labor." The Socialist political party is not and never was the masses of labor in the United States. It has sought to be, but has failed—that is the rub.

In the next paragraph of the foreword is: "It may be that certain officials of the A. F. of L. think that by opposing eight-hour laws they will injure Socialism."

The Socialist party exaggerates its own importance. As a matter of fact, the officials of the A. F. of L. are very little concerned

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as to the Socialist politicians. There is too much necessary constructive work to be performed to be concerned about destroying the Socialist political party—it will destroy itself. The only concern that the officials of the A. F. of L. or the rank and file of the movement have is that the Socialist politicians shall not arrogate to themselves the right to dictate the policies and methods of the trade-union movement or to undertake its domination.

The only reason why any attention is paid to this Socialist pamphlet is because it contains misrepresentations and deliberate perversions. We are concerned for the advancement of the toilers—of trade unionism.

In the last paragraph of the foreword the committee again disclose their real purpose: "The group in control of the A. F. of L. will only change its action when it is forced to do so by the rank and file. In order to awaken the trade unionists as to what is done in their name, we are now publishing the following statement of facts." As the pamphlet plainly shows, it is another attack upon the A. F. of L. and its elected officers. It is not an educational pamphlet, a pamphlet devoted to the propagation of truth, but it is a campaign document for the purpose of securing votes and for the purpose of putting the Socialist party politicians in offices and in places of authority in the trade-union movement.

SECURING THE EIGHT-HOUR WORKDAY.

The labor movement has not only advocated the shorter workday for all workers, but it has been the only power that has been effective in securing that ideal. In the old days when the workers were slaves there was no limitation to the hours that they were required to work. The fundamental purpose of all organized effort of the workers has been to reduce the hours of work, and they have been successful in their efforts. In very few places do the workers now toil from dawn until darkness. By raising the standard and then realizing each successive standard for the wage-earner, hours of labor not only for organized workers but for unorganized workers have been reduced. Eight hours has been the standard for men and women, but not for children, as is declared in the pamphlet. The A. F. of L. has done more than any other organization to secure eight hours for America's workers, but it has always advocated the abolishment of all child labor.

Wherever the eight-hour workday now prevails it is the result of the power exercised by the economic organization of the workers. As a result of this power of the trade-union movement the eight-hour workday now prevails generally for the workers in the following trades:

Carpenters and joiners; coal miners; typographical printers; cigarmakers; granite cutters; painters, decorators, and paperhangers; plasterers; plumbers and steamfitters; lathers; tilelayers; composition roofers; railroad telegraphers; stone cutters; marble workers; sheet metal workers; elevator constructors; bookbinders; hodcarriers and building laborers; brick, tile and terra cotta workers; cement workers; compressed air workers; steam engineers (in building construction); stationary engineers, pavers, rammermen, flagg layers, bridge and stone curb setters; paving cutters; plate printers, printing pressmen, stereotypers and electrotypers; tunnel and subway constructors; bridge and structural iron workers; asbestos workers; boilermakers and iron ship builders; quarry workers; metal miners; flint glass workers; slate and tile roofers; cutting die and cutter makers; stationary firemen; papermakers; photo-engravers; powder and high explosive workers; dock builders and bricklayers.

As the result of the economic power of trade organization, legislation establishing the eight-hour workday in public work was enacted for the following states and territories:

Alaska, Arizona, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, District of Columbia, Hawaii, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Kentucky, Maryland, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Porto Rico, Texas, Utah, Washington, West Virginia, Wisconsin and Wyoming.

The federal eight-hour law was secured through the efforts of the trade unions. Even after that law was enacted, the governmental

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authorities refused to enforce the law and its provisions were nullified by administrative and judicial interpretation. Only through the efforts of the economic organizations has that law been amended so as now to be effective and its enforcement secured.

Wherever eight hours has been secured and enforced in any country, it has been through the power of the economic organizations. Even in Australia, where the workers rely most upon political methods, the eight-hour workday was secured by economic organization before the workers adopted their political policy.

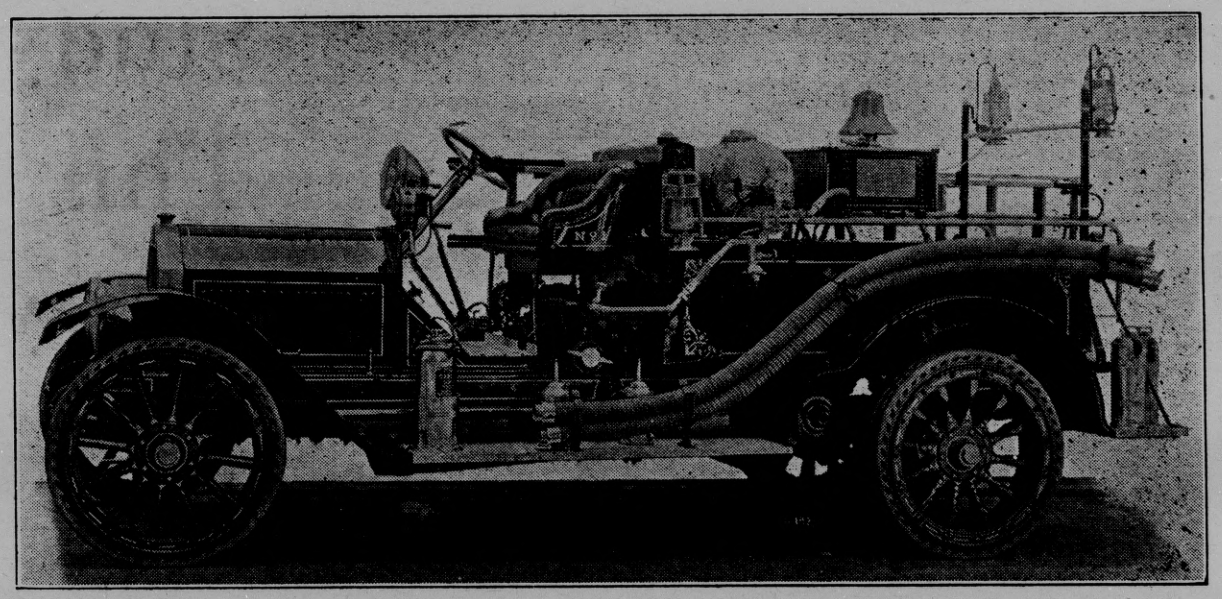
HOW THE MINERS SECURED EIGHT HOURS.

The Socialist pamphlet falsely states that the United Mine Workers of America have built up one of the strongest unions in the world by urging men to struggle for an eight-hour workday both through agreements with their employers and *through legislation.* The facts contradict this statement. When the miners began their efforts to organize, the A. F. of L. put itself back of that movement. Where the miners have built up strong economic organizations they have the eight-hour day, which was secured and is enforced by the economic organization. For years the miners were unorganized and suffered reduction after reduction in wages, alternating the work in a week of days of long hours with others of no work at all. Miserable, impoverished, and serflike! It was a tremendous task to make the miners conscious of their own miserable condition, but it was done, and when the 1897 strike was inaugurated, the spark of renewed life of regenerated people was manifest among the miners, and as a result of that great, victorious strike, the eight-hour day was achieved, established and maintained by the coal miners in the bituminous regions. The spirit of the men and the movement found its counterpart among the coal miners of the anthracite regions, and after the great strikes the nine-hour day, among other achievements, was established. At this moment a great campaign is being conducted for the thorough organization of the anthracite miners to secure the eight-hour day. The eight-hour day for the miners was, therefore, not secured through legislation, but by the misunderstood and misrepresented trade-union movement. The miners of Colorado attempted to secure the eight-hour workday by law, but the eight-hour day was one of the *demands* of the Colorado miners in their recent strike. The official journal of the mine workers plainly states in its editorial columns that the United Mine Workers of America owe their successes to economic organization.

Where the miners have built up strong organizations and have depended upon those organizations for securing industrial betterment they have made progress and have secured greatly improved conditions. A most significant incident is connected with the recent strike of the miners in eastern Ohio. They have recently secured through their trade union an agreement for the "mine-run" basis of payment, a condition which they had vainly endeavored to secure through legislation. After many years, they had secured the enactment of a law providing for the run-of-mine payment. It was opposition to this law that caused the mine operators to close down their mines before the law went into effect, and to use every influence to secure the repeal of the law by the state legislature. Through their economic power, the miners persisted in their demands and secured recognition of this claim even while the state legislature was repealing the law that made the provision.

So far as statutory enactment is concerned, the miners of Illinois have no better conditions of work than the miners of Colorado, but anyone who has any knowledge at all of the mining conditions in Illinois and mining conditions in Colorado knows that the conditions under which the miners of Colorado are forced to work are incomparably worse than the conditions under which the miners of Illinois work. The miners of Illinois are solidly organized. The miners of Colorado are struggling to organize.

Not as the Socialist politicians have declared in their pamphlet that the trade unionists are concerned more with dues-paying members than with a constant aim for improvement in the condition of the workers, but the fact is patent to every observer, except perhaps these overzealous friends (?) that nothing is very highly appreciated



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or valued by man which is given to him without effort and sacrifice on his own part. Rights, benefits, liberty are all of them meaningless and worthless to the masses of men unless they have struggled hard to achieve them, and the harder the struggle the deeper do they find their lodgment in the brain and the makeup of those who have participated in their accomplishment. And how strikingly similar is this charge of these Socialist labor friends (?) to the language and the charge of the National Association of Manufacturers.

A. F. OF L. WORK FOR EIGHT HOURS.

The pamphlet issued by the Socialist party tries to confuse the issues so as to make it appear that the A. F. of L. has wavered in its stand upon the eight-hour day. This is done by attempting to confuse the advocacy of the eight-hour day with methods for attaining that end. There is no organization in America that has done so much to reduce the hours of labor and to secure the eight-hour day for the wage-earners as the A. F. of L. As the pamphlet states, in that particular correctly, the A. F. of L. in its early days inaugurated an eight-hour campaign. This campaign was an economic movement. At its 1884 convention the A. F. of L. determined that it would advise all of its affiliated organizations to begin agitation for an eight-hour day, so that all labor might establish that day on May 1, 1886. Every trade or industry that secures the eight-hour day makes the principle more general and makes the victory for the other workers easier. Every gain secured by union workers is shared more or less directly by workers yet unorganized, but for whom organization is made easier by every industrial gain.

The eight-hour movement was begun by unions that in 1886 were no better able to cope with industrial opposition than are many of the weak unions or unorganized workers of today. But what those workers have done through persistence and skill in organizations, all other workers can do and will do. That success in achieving the eight-hour day is not confined to the skilled trades is proven by common laborers, hodcarriers and others.

The A. F. of L. has not only declared for, but has been the vanguard in the struggle for the eight-hour day, and has done more than all other agencies combined to secure the eight-hour day for the wage-earners, but it has never advocated that the workers should shift their safe and sure position to the illusory and dangerous field in the fruitless quest to obtain an eight-hour day by law in private industry. Its position upon that policy and its success cannot be disputed.

The A. F. of L. has always advocated a high wage, but it has never advocated that wages in private industries shall be stipulated by law. There is no reason that even Socialists should be astounded that the A. F. of L. does not advocate the stipulation of hours of work in private industry by law.

The excuse which the Socialist party politicians present for publishing this pamphlet on eight hours by law is that only summaries of the debate at the Philadelphia convention have been published, and then the Socialist party proceeds to publish extracts and summaries of the debate in the Philadelphia convention interspersed with comments and other extraneous matter. The pamphlet is intended to have the appearance of being a complete and authoritative report of the discussions that took place. Nothing could be further from the truth. The testimony of Morris Hillquit at the New York hearings of the Commission on Industrial Relations is introduced in this "only" reliable report as though it were concerned in the Philadelphia debate.

The pamphlet begins its record of the debate in the Philadelphia Convention of the A. F. of L. by quoting the resolution introduced by Paul Scharrenberg of the California State Federation of Labor, but it avoids at that point to state that the California measure for the enactment of an eight-hour law which should apply to all workers emanated from the Socialist political party. This fact, which is common information in California, is stated later and is necessary in order to understand the extreme solicitude of the Socialist political party. However, for its own political advantage the party endeavors to identify the interests of socialism with the welfare of the trade unionists.

As I have shown, the A. F. of L. has steadfastly rejected all

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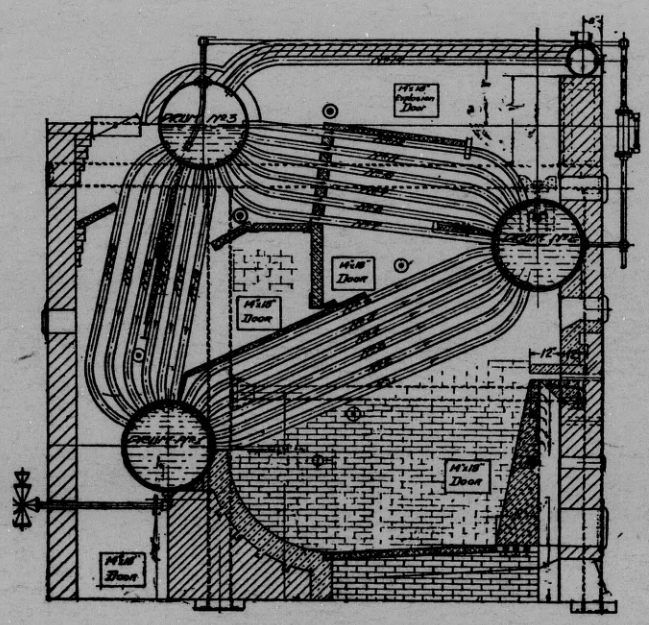

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efforts to engraft a political party upon the trade-union movement and to be led astray in the vain delusion that legislation is an easy way to secure economic welfare. It has always maintained that there is nothing to gain by trying to deceive the workers by high-sounding phrases, pretentious but impossible ends and by a method that would give them the appearance but not the substance of power.

The Socialist political party seeks to create the impression that the officers of the A. F. of L. were false to their trust when they pointed out the dangers and the sure defeat of a policy that could not secure them what they desired. This truth has been recognized by many of those who for a while were dazzled by the elusive "co-operative commonwealth" which the Socialists declared lay at the end of control by laws like the mirage that leads the traveler astray on the desert.

POSITIONS CHANGED BY EXPERIENCE.

"Mr. Charles E. Mahoney, of the Western Federation of Miners, about an hour after the A. F. of L. Convention voted on the eight-hour measure, made the following statement to me in speaking of the eight hours by law provisions that had been discussed at the Philadelphia convention 'I greatly regretted the position in which I was placed during the discussion and that I could not express and vote my real convictions upon the matter. We spent more than $40,000 to secure an eight-hour law for the miners of Missouri. We secured an eight-hour law for them and because they trusted in the eight-hour law they did not maintain their organization. Many thought that because they had secured eight hours the organization could do little more for them. But when the miners of Missouri permitted their organization to dwindle, the eight-hour law was no longer enforced and the miners were left powerless to protect themselves. Not only the organization, but the spirit of organization had died.'"

But confidence in the "law method" has been considerably abated in the three Western States by the experiences of even the past year. The workers of Washington, Oregon and California have every reason to mistrust the policy of placing control over their welfare in the hands of political representatives who constitute the law-making bodies. They now see the dangers of that course and they see how control by law can be manipulated to their disadvantage and detriment even more readily than it can be used for their advantage.

California realizes the menace through the proposed apprentice bill which sought to make unlawful any trade-union apprenticeship regulation; Washington, through the amendments recently made to the initiative and referendum which pervert the purposes of that democratic system of government. Furthermore, the state legislation shackled the workers by the anti-picketing law which defines, prohibits, and provides punishment for picketing. The recent sessions of the legislature of Washington destroyed humanitarian legislation that was the result of years of struggle. It was the result of wild goose chasing which concentrated thought and action upon the chimerical and lost the reality.

Oregon was a fellow-sufferer. Many other States have lost protection that depended upon legislation. Where the workers are strong enough to protect themselves through their organized power, they are not left helpless before the forces of greed, but absolute faith in the legislative method has been shattered by the demonstration of its danger and of its failure.

The Socialist party politicians in their pamphlet quote Mr. J. G. Brown, President of the International Union of Timber Workers, as having forcibly expressed his opinion upon and voted for the proposition at the Philadelphia convention to establish the eight-hour workday by law; and there is no question in my mind that by reason of Mr. Brown's intelligence and eloquence he made as deep an impression upon the delegates to the Convention as any other man who spoke upon that side of the subject. It may, therefore, be all the more interesting to quote the following letter, which I received from Mr. Brown:

"Seattle, Wash., March 26, 1915.

"Mr. Samuel Gompers,

"President A. F. of L., Washington, D. C.

"Dear Sir and Brother:

"I have been going to write you for some time and express my

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appreciation of the manner in which you opened my eyes to the superiority of economic over political action.

"The session of the state legislature which has just adjourned was so quick and complete a proof of the argument you advanced at the Philadelphia convention that it amounted almost to a prophecy.

"Not only were most of the labor laws attacked, but our most advanced legislative victories of the past, such as the initiative, referendum and recall, are in a fair way to be entirely ineffective for future use.

"Then in addition to the dehorning of all this legislation, we now have an anti-picketing law passed and will become operative in sixty days unless it can be held up by the refendum. To do this will require the gathering of 20,000 signatures. I believe we will be able to get this number of names. In which event the law's operation will be suspended till it can be voted upon next year at the general election.

"In this case we can use the referendum, but we came near being deprived of that opportunity. It is this way: The initiative and referendum law provides that measures passing the legislature carrying the emergency clause cannot be submitted to the referendum. The reactionary lawmakers of the last session passed a measure so amending this law that it would be utterly worthless and attached *the emergency clause.*

The emergency clause being attached to all measures that were likely to meet popular opposition, things looked very grave. The Governor vetoed some of the bills, but they were promptly passed over his veto. Then the matter was finally carried to the Supreme Court, and that body, by a very close vote, decided the emergency clause did not apply. We were saved for the moment. Had it not been for this court decision we would have been set back in this state, politically, more than we have advanced in the past ten years.

"Also, I am becoming convinced that those who ought to be saved must take a little part in saving themselves if it is to be of value. Benefits easily gained are lightly regarded.

"I am not sure that I have reached the point where I can see no good in political action, but have now a settled conviction that economic action should receive our first consideration.

"Moreover, I feel such political improvements as come to the workers will be the mere reflection of their increasing economic strength, regardless of what party may be in power.

"Trusting I shall give more weight to your opinions founded on so many years' active experience in the future than I have in the past, and with best wishes, I am

"Fraternally yours,

"J. G. BROWN,

"President, International Union of Timber Workers."

Mr. E. P. Marsh is President of the Washington State Federation of Labor. He is regarded as one of the most observant, intelligent men in the labor and reform movement of the State. Under date of March 27th, he sent me a duplicate copy of a letter which he wrote to Mr. C. O. Young, of Portland, Oregon, and asked me, in all its essential points, to regard the letter as equally addressed to me.

The letter is full of valuable information describing the 1913 session of the Washington state legislature, in which the interests opposed to the welfare of the workers made a terrific fight upon humanitarian legislation for the purpose of repealing or emasculating this legislation and for the enactment of legislation to hamper and obstruct the activities of the workers in their own behalf.

The last paragraph of his letter is of particular significance here. It is as follows:

"After spending a long sixty days at Olympia, I am inclined to say a hearty amen to Brother Gompers' criticism contained in the *Federationist* some time ago. But with a keen realization of the precariousness of depending wholly on legislation, there is the consciousness that having put our hand to the plow we must not look back, but we must fight as hard as we are able to preserve to the people the right of petition and the right of free assemblage and free speech upon *whichever battleground our opponents choose.*"

SOCIALIST GARBLING AND MISREPRESENTATION.

In order to prove the charge of "craft selfishness" against Vice-

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President Duncan, the Socialist pamphlet quotes the following: " 'We hope,' he says, 'through our trade-union activities, to get down to the six-hour day by and by. If you have an eight-hour law you will see the handicap we will have in arguing with our employers for seven and seven and one-half hours a day.' "

This statement is taken away from its context in order to pervert the meaning and the antecedent of the word "we," and to place Mr. Duncan in a false position as if speaking for the granite cutters alone. In the complete report of Vice-President Duncan's remarks published in the Proceedings of the Philadelphia convention, Mr. Duncan's meaning is unmistakable. Mr. Duncan had been speaking for some time about Labor in general. In this statement, "we" stands for the workers generally. In connection with the statement which the Socialists quote, Mr. Duncan had just stated that there were trades represented in the A. F. of L. whose members were working less than eight hours at the present time.

The writers of the pamphlet selected only such remarks of Vice-President Duncan as they wanted the workers to read and interpret these remarks in a manner reflecting upon him. They state that Mr. Duncan opposed the eight-hour law for millions because it interfered with his "petty little craft" obtaining less than an eight-hour day. The official report published by the A. F. of L. shows that Mr. Duncan discussed in great detail fallacies underlying the principle of establishing the eight-hour day by law. He showed that regulation of hours of work by law ultimately makes the judiciary the final source to which the workers must appeal for protection, and then he gave illustration after illustration showing the hostile spirit of many members of the judiciary toward organized labor and its purposes, and showing how members of the judiciary are unable to understand the conditions of modern industry. He reviewed the efforts to secure a federal eight-hour law for government employees. As a further illustration of the disadvantages of regulating hours of work in private industry by legislation, Mr. Duncan referred to an experience which his organization had in Baltimore, Maryland, where a nine-hour day had been passed by the legislature of the state for state and municipal work. He told how his standard fixed by statutory enactment was used as a regulation against reducing the hours of work by economic agreement.

The Executive Committee of the Socialist political party states, moreover, that "any Socialist or trade-union official who misrepresents Labor should be retired by the organized forces of Socialism and Labor." Undoubtedly officials should be responsible to those whom they represent, but the curious twist which the Socialist pamphlet makes in this sentence is characteristic of the whole argument presented. At first glance it would appear that the "and" between "socialism and labor" was perhaps merely an error in diction. The thought so evidently calls for the other conjunction "or."

Where, pray, comes the authority of holding the officials of the trade-union movement responsible to the organized efforts of socialism in addition to the organized efforts of labor?

Upon the day following the discussion and vote upon the subject under discussion, that is the trade-union activity to secure the eight-hour workday, the election of officers occurred and every officer of the A. F. of L. was re-elected with scarcely a dissenting vote. Is it, therefore, not a fair inference that the Convention answered for Labor in anticipation of the statement of the Socialist politicians that the officials of the trade-union movement fully represented the organized forces of Labor?

The Socialist pamphlet again calls attention to the fact that the Socialist political party has the referendum and recall, but that the A. F. of L. has never established that system of expression for its affiliated members. Here again the Socialist political party absolutely ignores the fundamental difference in organization between the Socialist party and the A. F. of L. The Socialist political party is a simple unitary organization and the A. F. of L. is a federated body. There is no national federated organization under the sun, whether political or economic, that has established the initiative and referendum.

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Employers' Liability Law

By Theodore Johnson.

The status of the California law pertaining to employers' liability for death or injuries suffered by employees in the course of the employment, is, to say the least, precarious, if not altogether restored to the condition existing prior to the introduction of workmen's compensation. By the term employers' liability law we refer exclusively to the rules of law governing our courts in deciding actions for damages brought by employees in cases of industrial accidents, and not the rules of law governing the administration of workmen's compensation. The latter system of awarding damages was established by the enactment of the Roseberry Act in 1911, the Boynton Act in 1913, the Luce Act in 1917, and other supplemental legislation, including the constitutional amendment on the subject adopted October 10, 1911, and a constitutional amendment to be voted on at the coming state election. Prior to the passage of the Roseberry Act the main body of statutory provisions relating to employers' liability is to be found in Section 1970 of the Civil Code. Said section was in 1907 amended, through the efforts of organized labor, so as to mitigate the severity of some rules of law relating to fellow servants and the assumption of risk, though retaining both of these doctrines as complete employers' defenses. At the 1911 session of the legislature the labor representatives intended to secure the enactment of the so-called A. F. of L. Employers' Liability Bill, modeled after the Federal Employers' Liability Act. Senator Roseberry, however, offered his voluntary compensation act, which in sections 1 and 2 undertook to entirely abolish the employers' defenses known as the rules of fellow servants and the assumption of risk, and to modify the rules pertaining to contributory negligence so as to substitute therefor the so-called comparative negligence rule and abolishing the defense of contributory negligence entirely in cases of violation by the employer of a safety statute. Labor accepted the Roseberry Act after securing some necessary amendments of same, but with the understanding that sections 1 and 2 of the act were to be considered as amendments of the general law relating to employers' liability, and that all future adjudications for damages on account of industrial accidents would be governed by same, except such as by acceptance of the provisions of section 3 and the succeeding sections of the act were to come under the rules of compensation laid down therein. To cinch this understanding the following rule was laid down in section 3 of the act: "in all other cases the liability of the employer shall be the same as if this (meaning section 3 and excluding sections 1 and 2) and the succeeding sections of this act had not been passed, but shall be subject to the provisions of the preceding sections of this act (meaning sections 1 and 2 of the act)."

For several years after the passage of said act it has been understood, both by laymen and the courts, that the law of employers' liability in this State was to be found in said sections 1 and 2 of the Roseberry Act and section 1970 of the Civil Code, which latter has, thus far, not been held by any court to be in conflict with the first mentioned, nor repealed or modified thereby. If any case should arise in the future in which the court should hold that section 1970 of the Civil Code in whole or in part was repealed by the enactment of the Roseberry Act, the condition would be even worse than anticipated in this article.

The Roseberry Act was superseded by the Boynton so-called Compulsory Workmen's Compensation Act of 1913, which became effective January 1, 1914. The Boynton Act was in turn superseded in part by the Luce Act of 1917, effective January 1, 1918. Neither the Boynton Act nor the Luce Act contain any specific provisions relating to employers' liability as herein defined.

The enactment of the Roseberry Act, and particularly the first two sections thereof, was hailed before the people of this State and the world as a notable achievement in the interest of labor and progressive legislation. All were of the belief that the antiquated doctrines of fellow servant and assumption of risk were abolished for good and forever.

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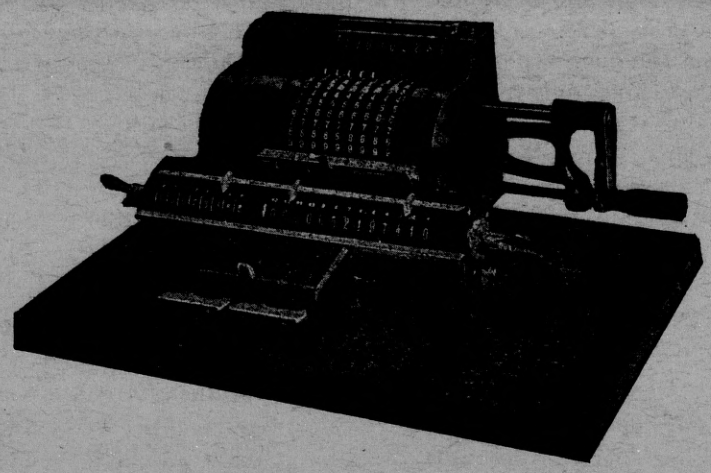

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It may under such circumstances prove somewhat of a shock to the rank and file of labor and progressives generally to learn that by the enactment and taking effect of the Boynton act, these sections of the Roseberry act, in relation to employers' defenses, were also superseded and repealed, so that for every purpose the employers' liability act of this State is now to be found again exclusively in section 1970 of the Civil Code, in whatever condition it may be after the enactments and repeals described above.

The foregoing statement is no idle speculation, but a real condition confronting the workers of this State who must seek redress for personal injuries by civil action. For proof, one may read the case of Brown v. Lemon Cove Ditch Co., decided by the Third District Court of Appeals, January 31, 1918, Volume 171, Pacific Reporter, page 705. If the law of this case is sustained in later cases, and not reversed, a most serious condition has been created by judicial construction and the repeal of statutes by implication.

The main facts and law involved in this case, as far as we need to consider them, are as follows: The accident, which resulted in death, happened after January 1, 1914, when the Boynton Act was in effect. The employment did not entitle the injured party to compensation but compelled a resort to court action. The defendant employer set up the defense of contributory negligence, contending that the rule of comparative negligence as established by the Roseberry Act was no longer in force, having been repealed by the passage of the Boynton Act. Judge Allen of the Superior Court of Tulare County held the defense good. An appeal was taken to the District Court of Appeals, consisting of Judges Burnett, Chipman and Hart. Justice Burnett wrote the decision, upholding the lower court. He disposes of the point in which we are interested as follows:

"We can see no error in the following instruction:

"'If a person's own want of ordinary care is the proximate cause of his injury or death, this is contributory negligence on his part, and no damages can be recovered from another person for such injury or death, even though the negligence of such other person may also have been a cause of the injury or death, and therefore if it appears from the evidence in this case that deceased, Marcellus Brown, in walking along said flume, negligently and carelessly (from lack of ordinary care) made a misstep and fell, which fall resulted in his death, and that the proximate cause of his death was due to want of ordinary care on his part, then plaintiff cannot recover in this action and your verdict must be for the defendant.'

"The contention of appellant as to this instruction is that it ignores the doctrine of 'comparative negligence', as provided in what is known as the Roseberry Act of 1911. But that law was repealed by the Workmen's Compensation Act of 1913, and the accident herein occurred after the latter statute became operative. The said Compensation Act does not recognize the doctrine of 'comparative negligence'. Indeed, that statute provides that the remedy provided therein shall be the exclusive remedy for the securing of damages against an employer for the death of or injuries to the employee, except 'that when the injury was caused by the employee's gross negligence or wilful misconduct, and such act or failure to act causing such injury was the personal act or failure to act on the part of the employer himself, or if the employer be a partnership on the part of one of the partners, or if a corporation, on the part of an elective officer or officers thereof, and such act or failure to act indicated a wilful disregard of the life, limb, or bodily safety of employees, any such injured employee may, at his option, either claim compensation under this act or maintain an action at law for damages.' The plaintiff chose the latter alternative, and it is therefore plain that in order to prevail he must have shown 'gross negligence' and 'wilful disregard of the life, limb, or bodily safety of the employee' on the part of an elective officer of the corporation, and we think it equally plain that his action would be defeated by the fact that the accident was due to the contributory negligence of the deceased. It may be added that the instruction is not in conflict with the 'doctrine of comparative negligence,' since it contemplates a condition wherein there could be no slight negligence on the part of the deceased."

While, according to above extract of the opinion, there is some doubt on the point whether or not the doctrine of comparative negligence was involved in the case, there can be no doubt that, in the opinion of the court, the Boynton Act repealed, in their entirety, the provisions of the Roseberry Act, including those of sections 1 and 2, thus restoring the employers' defenses to their former status and effectiveness. If the Supreme Court takes the same view in the next case coming before it, in which the accident happened after January 1, 1914, and in which one of these employers' defenses is pleaded,

Scientific Assessing

Assessor John Ginty thinks that the assessor's duties are the most important of any public officer and requires training and experience. To prove this he quotes from a speech made by the Attorney General of Mississippi as follows:

"The question as to how to get all kinds of property on the assessment lists at their full value without a revolution, or the aid of a standing army, and still have a situation wherein the tax assessor might be again elected to office, or allowed to continue his residence in the community in which he acted as tax assessor, would likely require omniscient help from on high.

The power of the State to tax is one of the sovereign powers of government, and it is the most important power that the State possesses. It constitutes the very heart of the political body. It furnishes the blood for the various arteries of government, which make that government a living, useful, and industrious body. Through the agency of taxation the police power of the State is made strong with authority, and the humblest citizen is allowed to dwell in his cottage with safety. Through this power the commonwealth is enabled to demonstrate its uplift from savage cruelty and selfishness by establishing asylums and institutions that safeguard the weak, raise the fallen, give sight to the blind, heal the sick, and cure the diseased. Through this power of taxation, which equips what is known as the police power of the State, the citizen secures that which was sought for many centuries—liberty, equality and justice.

This vital power of the State is less understood and less appreciated than any other function of government.

To assess properly the varied forms of property in your State would require: first, an assessor who has been trained and has had long experience at the work; second, that such a man would be entitled to receive a salary commensurate with the ability required and sufficient equipment and help; third, and most important of all, such an assessor should be removed from political conditions that hang as a millstone about his neck in the proper assessment of property.

The tax assessor is the State's soldier on the battlefield of civil government. Equip him for his work just as you would the soldier for his duties on the battlefield of war; train the assessor, pay him well, and remove his election from the field of party politics.

The organization of the Federal Farm Loan Bank has given an impetus to the study of appraising property and the many factors that contribute their influences in modifying or increasing values. It is the generally accepted public opinion that undesirable or inharmonious residents depreciate property value in any neighborhood, farm or city. A public park in the business district seems to take away the speculative value of property fronting on the park. The kind of stores, carrying merchandise that blend their character of trade with the different customers seeking various classes of goods, help to increase sales and add values to adjoining lots and buildings. One of the largest corporations in the United States, having stores in nearly every city determines the amount of rent they can pay, based on the number of people who pass in front of their store, claiming they can pay one dollar per square foot per year for every thousand persons who pass. A monthly rental of $1250 for a store room having 2,500 square feet would require the passing of six thousand people per hour. Residence property is affected by the classes in the neighborhood, sunshine, paved streets and transportation.

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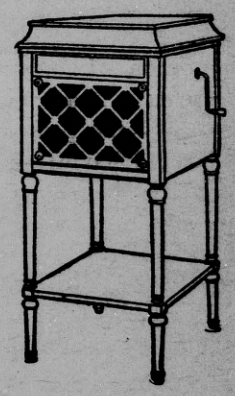

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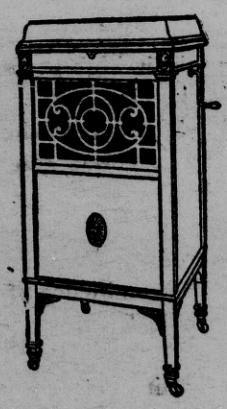

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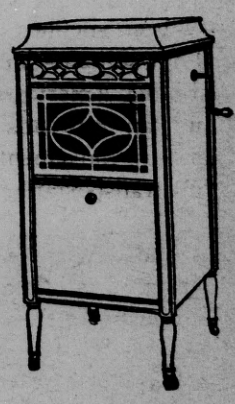

the matter is settled so far as our courts are concerned, and only new statutory legislation can restore to the workers the protection they enjoyed under sections 1 and 2 of the Roseberry act. In the meantime, the law or dictum of the case of Brown v. Lemon Cove Ditch Co. is binding upon all inferior courts.

What the position of the Supreme Court is likely to be has already been intimated by it in previous decisions, at least by innuendo.

In the case of Frinier v. Kubach Company, 171 Pac. Rep. 952, as well as in the case of Scherer v. Danziger, Advance Sheets, 173 Pac. Rep. 85, the Supreme Court is careful to refer to the Roseberry Employers' Liability Act as "then existing" and "in force" when the accidents in those cases respectively occurred. A still more explicit declaration to the same effect is made by Justice Shaw in the case of Schuh v. Herron, 169 Pac. Rep. 682, in which he says: "The injury occurred in 1913, after September 1, 1911, when the Employers' Liability Act of 1911 took effect, and before the Workmen's Compensation Act of 1913 was in force."

These expressions, taken together with the fact that no case decided by the Supreme Court up to the date of this writing dealing with employers' liability, was predicated upon an accident happening after January 1, 1914, makes it as certain as anything may be presumed that in a proper case the Supreme Court will coincide with the view of the District Court of Appeals.

The above condition was foreseen long ago, as early as when the Boynton Act was introduced at the 1913 session. The legislative agents of the State Federation of Labor referred to it in their report issued soon after the adjournment of that session as follows: "On the subject of (employers') liability, complete codification must be made at the next session if the new compensation act takes effect (it was then opposed in the press and threatened with a referendum), a very chaotic condition regarding liability will be found to exist."

The San Francisco Labor Council sought to find a remedy, instructing its delegates to the California State Federation of Labor convention at Fresno to introduce a resolution requesting the Industrial Accident Commission to make such codification. The convention adopted the resolution, but nothing came from these efforts.

While it may be possible by proper court action to secure a reversal of the ruling of the District Court of Appeals and to stop the apparent trend of judicial opinion on the subject, the only quick and sure remedy will be by statutory legislation to restore fully the condition of employers' liability law enjoyed during the life of the Roseberry Act.

For the protection of the thousands upon thousands of workers who still have to sue for damages to recover for personal injuries, it becomes a duty of the labor movement of the State to again devote its attention to the securing of a modern employers' liability law for California.

The world has been astonished at the great number of American soldiers transported to Europe in the last half year. The number now approximates 1,500,000, and the loss of life in transporting them has been almost infinitesimal. The success with which we have moved our troops from the scattered camps in this country and across 3,000 miles of ocean to the battle front is great evidence of American efficiency. We have not only surprised our enemies; we have surprised our friends and ourselves. The British controller of shipping, Sir Joseph Maclay, speaks of this movement across the sea as "A transport miracle." We have been inclined to attribute this achievement solely to our Navy and our shipping, but the British controller speaks in high praise of the share the American railroads had in the work. He says: "If the American railroads had not been operated with success the whole transport movement might have failed, because it was essential to quick transportation that the troops should be ready for the ships."

And, having once decided to achieve a certain task, achieve it at all costs of tedium and distaste. The gain in self-confidence of having accomplished a tiresome labor is immense.—Arnold Bennett.

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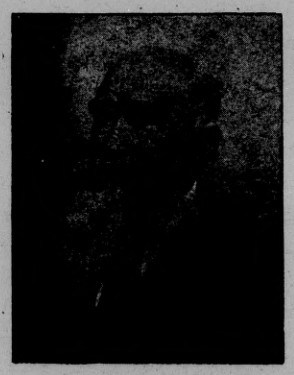

Living on farm near St. Helena, California, hale, hearty and well.

Born at Darien, Conn., February 7, 1827.

Great Reader.

Direct descendant of John Howland and Elizabeth Tilley, who landed at Plymouth Rock on "Mayflower" 1620. In 1857 married Catherine Mills, of old New England family. Learned trade of ship carpenter in shipyards of his uncle, William Bell, in New York.

Crossed plains with wife in 1859 with ox team.

In 1863 joined "Carpenters' Association" in San Francisco, therefore probably oldest Union Labor man in California.

Participated in Mail Dock strike in 1867.

Nearly thirty years in employ of Government at Mare Island.

Father of Theodore A. Bell, who was twice unanimously nominated for Governor of California on Democratic ticket.

California Had Minstrels—Tellers of Tales

The surprising fact that California once had a professional class of minstrels or tellers of tales, like the wandering troubadours of the Middle Ages or the story tellers who sit in the market places of Oriental cities, has been pointed out by Edward Winslow Gifford, Associate Curator of the Anthropological Museum of the University of California. He has found a living survivor of these aboriginal California bards in the person of an old Miwok Indian, Thomas Williams, of Jamestown.

These California troubadours were known among the Miwok Indians of Tuolumne County as "Utentbe," or "Myth-tellers." The "Utentbe" travelled from village to village in the Sierra foothills. In the assembly-house such a wandering minstrel sat and chanted his myths or told them in spoken prose. Often it took the whole night long to tell a single myth. The "Utentbe" were rewarded for their chanting by presents from the audience of beads, furs, and food.

The picturesqueness and the dramatic quality of California's treasure of native American tales is manifest in the collection of "Miwok Myths" collected by Mr. Gifford and just issued in the "University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology." The fact that they were obtained from a man who was among the aborigines that rare phenomenon, a conscious artist, undoubtedly has much to do with the unusual literary charm of these stories, as taken down by Mr. Gifford from the lips of the Indian teller-of-tales.

Here are some much-condensed versions of some of these fantastic stories, which well deserve a place among the fairy tales the white man has brought with him from Germany, England, or Italy, or borrowed from the Negro, or from the traditions of the Semitic peoples:

THE THEFT OF FIRE, OR WHY MEN FIGHT.

Lizard lay on a rock and saw flames flashing from the smoke-hole in the top of the big assembly-house.

"Come up here—you'll see sparks!" he said to Coyote.

After sundown Coyote saw the fire, and told everyone in the assembly house. The people told Mouse, the Flute-Player, to go look at the fire.

Flute-Player merely answered, "Yes." Telling no one, he left, taking with him four flutes. He played two flutes while he traveled into the valley. When he arrived at the assembly house he did not know how to enter, for Bear, Rattlesnake, and Mountain Lion guarded the door, and Eagle slept with his wing over the smoke-hole so that none might enter. Finally he cut two feathers from Eagle's wing and entered undetected. When he descended into the smoke-hole, he found the people asleep. He filled his four flutes with coals of fire and then made off for home.

The people woke up and went running over the hills, but they didn't find him.

Then Eagle sent Wind in pursuit, then Rain, then Hail. Hail caught Flute-Player, but Flute-Player placed his flutes in the water and told Hail he had nothing—that he'd take no one's fire. Hail believed him and departed.

Then Flute-Player recovered his flutes, and played upon them, and said to himself, "I have my fire!"

Flute-Player reached home with fire in the four flutes. Coyote ran and told people to gather wood, that Flute-Player was bringing fire. Flute-Player climbed to the top of the assembly house and played his flute. Everyone inside was cold. When Flute-Player had finished playing one flute, he dropped coals through the smoke-hole into the assembly house. The people in the middle received the fire, the others received but little. Those who were close to the fire talked distinctly, but the others didn't because they received so little fire. The people in the middle cooked their food, the others ate theirs raw and talked

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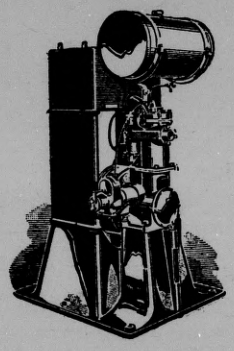
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different languages from the people in the middle. The middle people talked correctly, for they were around the fire, and they obtained acorns and manzanita and cooked their food, while the others ate only raw food, or else had nothing to eat. This is all because Coyote interrupted Mouse the Flute-Player by shouting before he had finished playing the other flute.

That's why people don't all speak the same language. They would all have talked correctly if they had all received fire.

But now people fight each other, because they don't understand each other's speech.

BEARS AND FAWNS, OR WHY IT THUNDERS.

"Sister-in-law, let's get clover! I like clover," said Bear to Deer.

"Yes, we'll eat clover," replied Deer.

"We'll leave these girls, the Fawns, at home," said Bear. "Stay at home until we return," said Bear to the Fawns.

Then Bear and Deer went down to eat clover.

When they had come to the clover, Bear said, "Let's sit down and rest." Then Bear said, "You have many wood-ticks in your hair. I can't get them all by picking them out. Let me chew your hair with them. That's the only way to remove them. Don't be afraid. Stoop, and let me try."

Deer thought Bear's intentions were good, and stooped down, but instead of chewing Deer's hair, Bear bit her neck and killed her, and ate her all up except the liver, and that she took home in a basket, with clover on top of it. When Bear came home, she told the Fawns to eat the clover.

"Your mother hasn't come yet," said Bear to the Fawns. "You know she always takes her time coming home."

When the Fawns had eaten the clover they found the liver in the bottom of the basket.

"Our aunt killed our mother," said the younger Fawn.

"We'd better watch, or she'll kill us, too," said the older Fawn.

"Our aunt will kill us if we stay here," said the younger Fawn. "Let's go to our grandfather's before our aunt kills us, as she killed our mother."

"Don't forget to take the awls," said the older Fawn.

When Bear came home, she saw no Fawns, but she set out to follow their tracks. A basket they had left at home whistled. Bear ran back to see if the Fawns had returned. Again Bear started from the house. As she went on, the awls the Fawns had thrown in different directions again whistled, and Bear, thinking the Fawns were whistling, left the trail in search of them. Whenever Bear heard the whistles, she grew angry and ran toward the sound, but she saw nothing, and returned to the trail.

"Where are you, girls?" cried Bear. The awls whistled in response and Bear ran toward the sound. Then she grew angrier still and said to herself, "If I catch you, I'll eat you!"

The Fawns followed the long trail until they came to a river. Across the river they saw their grandfather, Daddy Longlegs. They told him Bear had eaten their mother. Their grandfather stretched his leg across the river, and they walked across the river on his leg.

Then Bear came to the bank and asked Daddy Longlegs to put his leg across the river so she might cross. "All right," said Daddy Longlegs.

But when Bear reached the middle, Daddy Longlegs gave a sudden spring and threw her into the air, and into the river she fell, and had to swim ashore. Then she ran fast after the fawns.

"Hurry, sister, before she comes! We wouldn't like to have her catch us before we reach grandfather Lizard's house," said the older Fawn.

The Fawns climbed to the top of their grandfather Lizard's house and entered through the smoke-hole and told him Bear had killed their mother.

Then Lizard, their grandfather, threw two great white stones into the fire.

"Did the Fawns come here?" called Bear, outside the assembly house.

"Yes—why?" asked Lizard.

"I want to take them home to their mother," said Bear.

Four times she ran around the house, but she found no door,

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and then she climbed to the top of the house and found the opening.

"Now, I'll eat those girls!" said Bear. "How can I come in?"

"Shut your eyes tight, and open your mouth," said Lizard. "Then you'll enter all the quicker."

So Bear shut her eyes tight and shoved her head through the smoke-hole with her mouth wide open. "Wider!" called Lizard. Then Lizard threw those two big white stones right into her mouth. One rolled into her stomach, and one stuck tight in her mouth, and Bear rolled down from the top of the assembly house, stone dead.

So Lizard dressed Bear's hide and cut it into a little piece and a big piece, and he gave the large hide to the older Fawn and the small hide to the younger Fawn. When the Fawns put on these hides and ran in them, the hides made a loud sound and when one of the Fawns ran against a tree the tree was shattered to bits.

"Now I'm going to send you girls up above," said Lizard. Then the girls went up. The girls ran around on the top, and rain and hail fell. Lizard heard the Fawns running around above. He called them "thunders."

YAYALI, THE GIANT.

(Note.—This giant once made his home on Table Mountain, near Jamestown, Tuolumne county.)

Yayali the Giant went journeying up the mountain, shouting all the way. He met Chipmunk, and he went to Chipmunk's house.

"Go in," said Chipmunk, "while I get wood and make a fire." But the Giant insisted that Chipmunk go in first.

"Take the lead, or you'll freeze," said Chipmunk to the Giant. "You've been out in the rain and you're wet. I'll build a fire for you."

"You take the lead," said the Giant. "You're the owner of the house."

So, to save further argument, Chipmunk led the way into the house, and as they approached the door the Giant threw a stone at Chipmunk, and hit him on the back, and killed him. Then the Giant made himself at home, married Chipmunk's widow, and cooked Chipmunk and invited his new wife to help eat her first husband.

"You eat it!" said Chipmunk's wife. But the Giant insisted. "You eat it, you eat it!"

Chipmunk's widow dug a hole in the ground, and there she placed Chipmunk's little daughter, and she fed her deer meat.

The Giant came home at sundown and in his basket were many people he had killed.

"We'll not starve," said the Giant. "We've plenty of meat. You've a better husband than you had before. He gets more meat than your former husband did."

Every morning when he went out into the hills in search of more people, the Giant rolled a big boulder against the door, so that his wife might not escape, and every night he returned with a load of large, fat people in his basket. He told his wife to eat the flesh of the fat people.

"If you don't," he said, "I'll kill you. I think you have a very good husband. He always gets plenty of meat when he goes hunting, and he never misses a man with his stone."

Every night when the Giant came home he danced, and then he cooked the meat for his wife, and gave her the old men and women, taking the young people for himself. But his wife deceived him and ate only deer meat and the pine nuts which Chipmunk had obtained for her.

Then one of Chipmunk's brothers dreamed that Chipmunk was sick, and he went to visit him.

"Why are these boulders against the door?" he asked, when he came to Chipmunk's assembly house.

"The Giant killed your brother," answered his sister-in-law. "He closes the door with these boulders every time he goes out."

Then the brother rolled aside the boulders and went in.

"There are the Giant's two sons," said his sister-in-law, pointing to her children.

"Crush some obsidian," said Chipmunk's brother. "If the Giant or his brothers overtake you while you are on your way home, throw the crushed obsidian in their faces."

She started off, and her brother-in-law went into the hills and

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sharpened a manzanita stick, making it very sharp. He killed the two young giants by hitting them on the ankle, for it was there they kept their hearts. After he had killed them he gouged out their eyes and threw them into the fire.

When the Giant came home he chased Chipmunk's brother around the house, but Chipmunk's brother was too quick for him.

"You can't catch me unless you dance," said Chipmunk's brother. "After you dance I'll let you catch me. I want to see you dance first." So the Giant danced.

"Dance more!" said Chipmunk's brother. "Jump higher through that smoke-hole. I like to see you dance."

So while the Giant danced, Chipmunk's brother climbed on top of the house, and suddenly he struck the Giant across the neck and cut off his head. He cut the Giant to pieces and scattered the flesh over the trees and rocks.

Then a large number of the Giant's brothers came to visit the Giant, and saw the meat hanging on the trees. So they cooked the meat and ate it, not knowing it was their own brother's flesh, until they found his head lying beside a spring.

"We ate our own brother!" cried one of the Giant's brothers. "But we don't know where the murderer came from. Let's sleep and dream about it."

The Giant's brother dreamed his sister-in-law was on the way to her father's house. So they started after her, but she threw crushed obsidian into their faces and they had to stop to pick it out of each other's eyes.

"We're nearly home!" she cried to her daughter. "Don't be frightened! Your grandfather Lizard will save us."

When she reached her father's house, she called, "Hurry! Open the door! The Giant killed and ate your son-in-law."

Then her father opened the door, and after his daughter had stepped inside, he spat on it, and the whole house turned into rock, so that the Giant's brothers could not open the door.

The Giants outside the house began to sing and dance. Then said the old man, her father, "Let the wind blow them away!"

Then a great wind blew, but the Giant's brothers turned and blew the great wind back.

Then the old man called a great snow, and the great snow covered everything. After the snow had covered the Giants, they shouted and the snow melted away. Then the old man called the hail, but the Giant's brothers shouted and the hail ceased. Then Lizard called for a flood to wash away the Giant's brothers, and before the Giant's brothers had time to shout they were drowned by the water.

Then the woman told grandfather Lizard the story of how the Giant killed her husband.

"Chipmunk's brother is there now," she said. "He said to me: 'Go to your father. I will stay here and take my brother's place. I am ready for another Giant!'"

If there is nothing new on earth, still the traveler always has a resource in the skies. They are constantly turning a new page to view. The wind sets the types on this blue ground, and the inquiring may always read a new truth there.—Thoreau.

Be slow to fall into friendship; but when thou art in, continue firm and constant.—Socrates.

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Frank P. Walsh

Of the War Labor Board

For a time after Frank P. Walsh completed his work as chairman of the Industrial Relations Commission there seemed to be grave danger that he would be carried away with the philosophies and Utopian dreams of those in this country who call themselves radicals. Some of the institutions with which he affiliated himself at that time were such as never could receive the approval or support of the American Federation of Labor or of the tried and true trade-union leaders of the country, and many labor men were of the opinion that the value of the report of the Industrial Relations Commission would be destroyed because of the radicalism of its chairman. But Walsh soon discovered that he was on the wrong track and began to steer his course toward the bona fide trade-union movement, until now he is in line with the men of labor who have made the American labor movement the power for good that it is today, and indications are that his usefulness and helpfulness in the struggle of the workers for justice will continue. Recently he was interviewed by a New York "Call" reporter and gave expression to these statements:

"Philosophies impose limitations. They also have a habit of getting under your feet. Those who have philosophies invariably waste effort in being consistent. No man, considering the film of life as it flickers by, can be both consistent and truthful. Events shape and reshape themselves so fast, and reactions gained from them are so changeful and even inconsistent with each other, that the man with a philosophy would carry mental bruises all the time.

"Conceptions on economics are purely mental and the point of view governs entirely. New knowledge gives new thoughts. Anyone who has studied economics must advance. Labor presents its cases to the board without attorneys, as a rule, because they know more of what they are talking about than could be instilled into the average attorney in years. The employers are represented by counsel usually because they have handled the fundamentals of wages and working conditions through stewardships for years.

"The fact that labor and capital saw at the same time the need for a court of last resort on economics during the war is, in itself, a fine vindication of the growth of thought within the last few years. There was an unconscious realization for years that much of the bitter differences might be swept away. The war brought home to us with a jolt the jarring the industrial machinery had sustained for decades. Industry has been poorly directed and somewhat aimlessly. Labor has had serious shortcomings. The effort now should be to minimize the laxity of both sides, to unify and harmonize.

"So far the board's efforts have been pitched on war needs. But I am sure that growing out of this work there will be methods found that will work in peace times; that machinery will be devised at the close of war so that the inevitable chaos which would follow without it, because of changing conditions and changing needs, may be avoided altogether."

Viewing the economic situation in a broad way, Walsh said, the struggle is merely to assert majority rule. So far the minority in industry—the owners—have ruled with an iron hand. This view, he believes is purely parochial—feudal, as now applied—and will vanish at the end of the war. In his opinion, the war has taught valuable lessons. Not the least of these is that the non-producers have learned largely how much they have missed in being deprived of the pleasure of toil. Th producers have been denied the profits of their labor. Both classes have been victims of this. He phrased it this way:

"Both classes have suffered poignantly. That era threatens to be swept aside. After the war we all will have the proper vision of what life really means; that spiritual concept which teaches that life really lived is love and labor, not the vain accumulation of desires and that despair which satiety breeds. It is an old truth in new skin. We all are fast learning that."

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Reformers Rebuked

School Amendment would lead to IRREGULARITY, CONFUSION and GRAFT. Ask the teachers. They know!

The following resolution and APPEAL OF THE TEACHERS to the voters of San Francisco to defeat this iniquitous measure, speak for themselves in no uncertain terms. The resolution and appeal were adopted at a Mass Meeting of the Teachers' Association of San Francisco held August 22, 1918. This vicious and utterly uncalled-for amendment which the teachers so strongly denounce, and so justly condemn, is based, ostensibly, on the so-called Claxton Survey, a monumental farce perpetrated for the sum of $8,500 guaranteed by the Chamber of Commerce.

This malicious interference with our schools by which the People are asked to surrender their ballot and right to elect their own Superintendent, was prepared by a so-called "Public Education Society". Some of these detractors of our schools are non-residents; some have no children, and some never attended our schools or have ever shown any interest in them, except to "knock" them.

RESOLUTION

WHEREAS, That certain proposed Charter Amendment providing for the reorganization and conduct of the School Department, is vicious, reactionary and un-American, be it

RESOLVED, That the Teachers' Association of San Francisco, in general meeting assembled, denounce the same and pledge themselves to work against its adoption.

APPEAL TO THE PEOPLE

The Teachers of San Francisco in Mass Meeting assembled call upon the People to

Vote No!

-:- Women's Work and War -:-

At a recent meeting of the State chairmen of the Women's Committee of the Council of National Defense, which was held in Washington, Miss Nellie Swartz of the New York Women in Industry Committee of the Council, made a report on equal pay for the women war workers of her State. The report followed an investigation recently completed. She said that the women of New York receive from three cents to ten cents an hour less than the men. She spoke of an investigator who saw a man and a girl doing the same work on time ranges for guns. The investigator was told that the rate of pay was $35 per week for the man and $30 per week for the girl. She was also told that the output of the girl was twice as great as that of the man, although she was receiving $5 per week less pay.

This injustice is, according to the investigators, creating much discontent and unrest among the women working in the factories that are handling Government contracts. This unrest is augmented by a lack of proper adjustment between wages in the various departments of these factories. For instance, in one department the investigators found beginners earning $20 a week, a wage considerably higher than that of experienced workers in another department.

No one phase of the war situation is attracting a wider range of public discussion than this industrial war work for women. People who never before gave thought to the industrial position of women and who certainly never credited them with a high industrial value, are now loud in their public assurances that women can do men's work. All sorts of kindly and semi-philanthropic arrangements are being suggested as a means toward increasing women's efficiency. Schemes for replacing men with women workers are being advanced by groups of employers who have never thought of women as definite members of the labor world whose standards of work must be regulated with some relation to the value of service rendered.

Women have always been pauper labor—this fact is admitted. Their wages have never been paid in proportion to the work done. Mrs. Florence Kelley, of the National Consumers' League, summed the matter up when she said: "What could possibly be more contemptible than the question, 'What is the least sum on which an honest working girl can keep body and soul together and escape disgrace?'"

The stand recently taken by many commercial clubs and employers' associations that women be paid men's wages where they do men's work is not being universally followed in practice by members of those organizations.

The United States government has led the way by urging this change as one of national importance. We have from the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics the following trenchant paragraph:

"The great danger from the viewpoint of health is that the employment of women should be resorted to merely in order to obtain cheap labor. As a matter of public health we must see to it that women are paid equal wages for equal work. Otherwise their employment can be and is daily being made the excuse for undercutting the standard wages of men and so reducing the standards of living in the community. It is true that in many of the new occupations the women are unskilled and need training. Yet even while they are being trained, they should as a matter of health be paid an adequate wage."

From other sources come similar reports. In machine shops all over the country young boys with no training at all are being taken on at a beginner's rate of 31 cents an hour, while women with ma-

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chine experience and good habits of work are taken on for 20 cents an hour. This makes for discontent and ill feeling among the women which in turn results in careless work. Elevator men are paid from $15 to $25 a week, and now women and girls are being used to replace them at wages which run from $9 to $12 a week. The manager of one of the largest retail stores in the country was asked not long ago to explain this discrepancy as it appears on his own payroll. He answered promptly: "The women do not do the same work as the men; while the men clean their cars, the girls only operate the cars." This sounded well, but when further inquiry was made it turned out that elevator operators are not supposed to clean or repair their cars and do not in fact do so.

The waitresses of a big Middle West city report similar discrimination. The waitresses' union had difficulty this year in signing up its contracts. The contracts contained a clause stating that where women were employed to take men's places doing an equal amount of work they must be paid an equal wage with the men. The employers admitted that they intended to fill vacancies left by men with women; they admitted that the work would be just the same for the women as for the men; they also admitted that they expected to get these women workers for three dollars a week less than they were paying the men. The secretary of this union was one day arguing the matter with a young man who manages a chain of restaurants. "Supposing I should take your job," she said. "You know you are in the draft and you know, too, that I could take your place very nicely. How would you like to go away to war knowing that I was doing your work for a half or two-thirds the wages you are now getting? You would know for a certainty that when you come back from war you might get the job back, but you would get it back at my wages and not at the wages you are getting now. How would you like that, after you had made the sacrifice to go for the sake of your country? What kind of a patriot would I be to take that job and what kind of a patriot is the owner of your restaurants to try now to do this thing?"

Going the Limit

By Frank E. Wolfe
Of the American Alliance for Labor and Democracy

With the Kingdom of Prussia spread over Middle Europe, over Belgium, France, England and the United States—for the United States was the next step in the ambitious plans of the German Lords—the world would have come under the domination of the most absolute monarchy ever dreamed.

When a subject of the Kaiser enters a suit in the United States he does it in the name of the Kaiser and the legal representative of the "most high" petitions that "the plaintiff states that he is absolute monarch of the Kingdom of Prussia, and as King thereof is the sole government of the country; that he is unrestrained by any constitution or law, and that his will, expressed in due form, is the only law of that country, and is the only legal power there known to exist as law."

The Socialist who mutters that he would as soon be under the domination of German capitalism as under American capitalists may well ponder this. The doctrine that workers can have no interest in any country or any flag has been spread with great persistence by the syndicalist-anarchists and they have wrecked the Socialist party.

American workers have shown during the past year and a half that they have every interest in the liberty enjoyed in their country and they have pledged themselves to go the limit, financially and in personal sacrifice, to win this war and free the people of the world from the menace of domination of ambitious autocrats.

I think this matter of liberty is one of those rights which require fine sense to appreciate, and with every degree of civility it will be more truly felt and appreciated.—Emerson.

Deliberate with caution, but act with decision, and yield with graciousness or oppose with firmness.—Colton.

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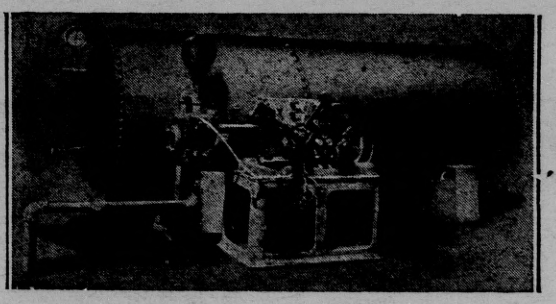

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Famous Pike's Peak Region

No place in America is better known to tourists than Colorado Springs, and no mountain is more widely renowned for beauty and grandeur than Pike's Peak. The remarkable features of the Pike's Peak region might justify even stronger expressions of appreciation, for many a globe-trotter has acknowledged that for scenic beauty it ranks with the most attractive regions in the world. Other mountains in America are higher, more rugged in outline, and more varied in surroundings, but for noble presence, impressive dignity, and distinctive character, Pike's Peak is unsurpassed. It stands apart from other mountains like a giant who with folded arms looks calmly down upon the pygmies at his feet.

A high mountain among mountains equally high is dwarfed by comparison, but Pike's Peak stands close to the border of the Great Plains and rises 8000 feet above them. The observer on its summit may gaze eastward with unrestricted vision as far as his eye can reach. In other directions he may see stretching out before him a wide panorama of varied landscape—of mountain and canyon, crag and dell, rock-walled gorge and forested slope.

An almost inaccessible high peak can appeal only to the venturesome mountain climber, for what does it matter to most of us how glorious a landscape may be seen from its top if only a few can climb to it? But the cog road to the summit of Pike's Peak now carries each summer thousands of tourists. Especially thrilling is it to stand on the summit when the storm clouds hang low and when the traveler may look up to an unclouded sky and down upon a fierce storm raging below him.

At the foot of the mountain lies the far-famed Garden of the Gods, on whose flower-sprinkled floor stand monuments of strange form and brilliant color, carved by erosion from upturned beds of red sandstone. These red beds once covered large parts of the mountainous area, but have long been eroded away. They now extend to a considerable depth underground and turn eastward under the plains, where they lie almost horizontal thousands of feet beneath the surface and are covered by later sedimentary rocks.

The rocks of this region record a history that reaches back millions of years into the dim past, when this old world was young. The granite of Pike's Peak is pre-Cambrian in age. Long before any known forms of plant or animal life existed on the earth it lay where it now lies, and there it remained for ages undisturbed. The records of many of the events that occurred during the long geologic periods between the pre-Cambrian and the Carboniferous were destroyed by erosion, and these periods are represented here by a thickness of only 300 feet of sedimentary rocks. But the shorter time that has elapsed since the beginning of the Carboniferous period is represented by sedimentary rocks more than 10,000 feet thick. Volumes have been written on the geologic periods represented by these rocks—periods covering the rise and fall of great mountain systems and the birth, life and decay of tribe after tribe of living creatures. The first animals that walked on land trod the Carboniferous Red Beds. In a later geologic period the site of Colorado Springs was a low-lying swampy plain, in the mud holes of which wallowed huge amphibious lizardlike reptiles, the largest beings that ever dwelt on the earth. The drier parts of the plain were inhabited by some of the smaller but even more grotesque reptiles of that far-off time.

Then the sea spread over this region, and during the long Cretaceous period its waves rolled and its tides ebbed and flowed where Pike's Peak now stands. In this sea accumulated the mud and limy ooze which were later hardened into the shale and limestone that now form the rock floor of Colorado Springs. In the mud were entombed great numbers of seashells, which are now found at many places near that city. At a few places, also, may be found the bones of marine monsters that navigated the waterways and of great dragonlike flying reptiles that winged their way over the sea.

In the course of time the basin was filled with mud and sand, the water was pushed seaward, and swamps were formed on the low-lying coastal plans. In these swamps gathered the muck and peat which was afterward covered by other deposits and turned into coal. This coal now crops out in beds that are mined at places east of Colorado Springs.

The end of the Cretaceous period was marked by a series of uplifts of the region. Little by little, mountains were raised where the sea had been, and the waters of this sea were forced back into the basin of the ocean. As a result of these uplifts the sea was permanently expelled from the interior of the continent and Pike's Peak was born.

The geologic history of the Pike's Peak region since Cretaceous time has been mainly a history of continued uplift and erosion—of a long contest between forces that increase the height of the mountains and forces that wear them down. The higher the mountains were raised, the more fiercely they were attacked by rain and stream, by frost and ice. These were some of the agents that carved the crags and scooped out the gorges which are among the most attractive scenic features of this region.

As geologic agencies have played a dominant part in shaping the scenery of this famous playground, a simple and authoritative account of the geology of the region should be of special interest. Such an account has recently been published by the United States Geological Survey, Department of the Interior, as the Colorado Springs folio (Folio 203 of the Geologic Atlas of the United States), by George I. Finlay. This folio contains topographic and geologic maps of the region; descriptions of its rock formations, mineral deposits, and water resources; a record of its geologic history in relation to that of the surrounding region; and reproductions of photographs of some of the scenic features. In addition to maps of the Colorado Springs quadrangle, on a scale of half an inch to the mile, the folio contains a large-scale map (1.3 inches to the mile) of the Manitou quadrangle, which includes Pike's Peak, the Garden of the Gods, and the city of Colorado Springs. Some of the semi-precious minerals which are offered for sale to tourists and for which the Pike's Peak region has long been famous among mineral collectors, are briefly described in this folio, which concludes with a description of the coal deposits of the quadrangle, the cement and building-stone materials, the water resources and the soils.

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GREETINGS FROM
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Distinguished Service for Liberty's Cause

EDITOR'S NOTE:—Herewith the "Labor Clarion" publishes five news stories showing work being done by union men—voluntary, self-sacrificing work—to help Liberty's cause. All over America such work is being done. It's being done among the readers of this paper—and WE WANT TO KNOW ABOUT IT.

Who's doing DISTINGUISHED SERVICE for Liberty's cause among the readers of the "Labor Clarion?" Do you know of a man or woman who is making a real sacrifice to help along the war? Write it in 100 words and send it to the editor of "Labor Clarion." We'll print it. Do you know of a local union that is doing unusually good work for Liberty's cause? Send the story. We'll print it.

Send your stories of DISTINGUISHED SERVICE. They will inspire others and also will serve to bring a splendid lot of fine work to public attention. Help the "Labor Clarion" to bring the lights out from under the bushels. Here are this week's DISTINGUISHED SERVICE STORIES.

LABOR RUNS BIG WAR STAMP CAMPAIGN.

By James G. Barrett.

Editor, Labor Advocate, Member American Alliance for Labor and Democracy.

Asheville, N. C., Aug. 30.—Our Labor Day plans will convert Labor Day into a regular War Savings Stamp campaign, in an effort to bring North Carolina over the top. Our plan is statewide and Organized Labor will have charge of the War Stamp campaign for the entire state during the week beginning Sept. 2nd. Our parades on Labor Day will be for the sale of War Savings Stamps, all our meetings will be turned over to that work and all our speakers will be trade unionists.

BAKER HONORS HEROES OF THE MINES.

Washington, Aug. 30.—One hundred and fifty miners of Mercer county, Pennsylvania, though retired owing to age, returned to work when they learned of the nation's coal shortage. Through the Fuel Administrator, Secretary Baker has sent these men a splendid tribute for their patriotism. "This is the spirit which free, liberal government always engenders," he wrote the Fuel Administrator, "and which insures the triumph of our arms and aims. I should like, through you, to send a personal greeting to these heroes of the pick."

ENROLLS 1400 MEMBERS FOR LOYALTY WORK.

New York, Aug. 30.—Local 892, Painters, has voted to join the American Alliance for Labor and Democracy, enrolling all of its 1400 members in the Alliance. This local has also assessed each member $2 for War Savings Stamps. Nearly every member has bought Liberty bonds. Fifty-nine members are in the military service. Secretary Charles E. Holmes is an authorized War Savings Stamp representative and working overtime at it.

URGES MAXIMUM COAL PRODUCTION.

Indianapolis, Aug. 30.—President Frank J. Hayes, United Mine Workers of America, has just finished a tour of the anthracite district, in which he addressed twenty large meetings urging the miners to put forth every effort to raise coal production to the maximum.

UNION OFFICIAL, ENLISTED AS PRIVATE, NOW LIEUTENANT.

New York, Aug. 30.—Friends in this city have just learned that W. A. Sheraton, former secretary of the Tidewater Boatmen's Union in this city, has been commissioned a lieutenant in France. Last December Sheraton enlisted as a private, unable to resist the call to fight autocracy. He has been assigned to supervision of a portion of the work of unloading and housing of supplies at a French port.

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Labor Clarion

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To unions subscribing for their entire membership, 85 cents a year for each subscription.

Single copies, 5 cents

Changes of address or additions to union's mail lists must come through the secretary of each organization. Members are notified that this is obligatory.

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JAMES W. MULLEN.....Editor
Telephone Market 56
Office, S. F. Labor Temple, 2940 Sixteenth St.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 30, 1918.

Keep on shouting for "Old Glory"
Just as hard as you are able;
In the meantime be consistent—
Don't forget the Union Label.

Some people seem to think that democracy means that each individual may do as he pleases without regard for the effects of such a policy on others, which, of course, would be ridiculous. That condition of affairs would be anarchy, not democracy.

As a result of the liberal patronage of the business world this year's Labor Day number of the "Labor Clarion" is the largest in its history. In spite of the fact that there are so many calls for money from business concerns for war purposes all seem to be enjoying a degree of prosperity greater than for many years back. We bespeak for those who have patronized this year's paper the support of the organized workers. The rule "you scratch my back and I will scratch yours" is a good one to follow. The "Labor Clarion" is your paper.

There are dimensions in trade-union development like those of space, length, breadth and height. We know the short-lived, narrow and low kind of developed labor union, which organizes only a few of the craft, does nothing by itself to secure results for its membership, but lives like a leech, growing fat upon the efforts of others. Such a union cares not for the condition of those of the same craft who are outside the fold, in fact it rather likes to keep up a little monopoly of its circle by insisting on high initiation fees, refusing to make sacrifices to lift others out of the mire, and priding itself on being as useless to the craft at large as the fifth wheel on the wagon. Would that each union might grow in all the dimensions required to work out the benefits of organization for all legitimately entitled to take part in its formation and growth.

The Red Cross building in the Civic Center is being rapidly constructed with labor volunteered by members of the various crafts affiliated with the Building Trades Council. The estimate calls for 2614 working days. Of these the carpenters furnish 1200, laborers 500, plasterers 50, hod carriers 30, bricklayers 14, roofers 40, electrical workers 100, plumbers 200, steamfitters 330, painters 150. The building is constructed on the site of the old Hall of Records and is to house all the various officers of the American Red Cross hitherto scattered all over the city. The donation of this great amount of labor is a fine exhibition of the patriotism of the men composing the ranks of the building trades. The object is to save every dollar now paid in rents for the work of the American Red Cross abroad.

This Labor Day

We are today celebrating Labor Day—the one day in the year that is devoted to honoring the men and the women, yes, and in many instances, the little children, who do the world's useful work. It is a proud day for labor this year, and particularly for the organized workers, because the past year has been one of glorious achievements, a year in which the organized toilers of our land have not only demonstrated their unswerving devotion to the principles of democracy and their loyalty to this great Nation of ours, but have caused the civilized world to turn their eyes in our direction in awe and wonderment at our prodigious accomplishments in prosecuting a war for which we had made no preparation whatever. In fact so pacific had we been in our conduct that the German junkerbund had become thoroughly convinced that we were cowards and would not fight no matter how much we might be humiliated so long as we were permitted to garner the almighty dollar. But our conduct during the past year has resulted in a sorrowful but clear disillusionment in the dull-witted minds of the war-mad superman empire, and if the German military masters had it all to do over again they would religiously avoid provoking the displeasure of the United States of America. They know us better now and thoroughly understand what we can and will do, but they made their discovery too late and their doom is now sealed.

We have been pacifists all our lives, and are proud and even boastful of the fact that we have been pacifists. We thoroughly detest war, and in the past whenever the opportunity offered joined in the clamor against war and war-makers, and are glad of that, too. And we are for the vigorous, determined and unrelenting prosecution of this war until success shall crown our efforts in the hope that a defeated, humiliated, thoroughly crushed military machine in the Central Empires will serve to convince future ambitious tyrants that the world will not allow might to triumph over right, and thus mean the end of wars.

For nearly a quarter of a century we have been watching the Empire of Germany as she continued to build and perfect her military machine, and have listened to the boasting of her people, even many of those of them who came to this country to escape military service, as to her military power, knowing all the while that she was a menace to the peace of the world, that she was ready and anxious to interfere in the affairs of other nations, acting like a ruffian and a bully because she was fully conscious of her power. We kept in mind all the while her arrogant interference with Dewey in Manila bay, and when this war broke out in 1914 could not be neutral. Our sympathies went at once to outraged little Belgium and to glorious, heroic France. Then as the war wore on and the German bully heaped insult upon injury upon the United States we began to feel that the man who would refuse to fight under such circumstances would not be a pacifist, but a craven coward.

While Germany was harassing us, sinking our ships and murdering our people we had in the White House a patient man, a man as devoted to peace as the organized workers themselves, but even his patience became exhausted when the Kaiser claimed the seas and warned us that he would sink our ships and murder our citizens if we attempted to make use of the common avenues of international intercourse. And now the Kaiser clique, the German junker crew, guilty of the blackest crime the world has ever known, must first be crushed and then we can go peacefully on our way without minds filled with hopeless fear as to the future of human kind. Then, and only then, can we have a chance to work out our problems, correct our evils, improve our system and enjoy the blessings of this glorious democracy established by the toil and patience and genius of our hardy pioneers and maintained in blood and suffering by a faithful progeny. Democracy is the thing. Without it we have nothing, not even hope.

FLUCTUATING SENTIMENTS

The aspiration of the union label knows no bounds. Its ambition is to redeem a world. Nothing in the whole realm of unionized labor is capable of such effective and continuous utility. Other agencies have varying degree of potentiality, and are intermittent in effectiveness. Unhappily, they sometimes fail to win public sympathy, translate indifference into antagonism, intensify the suspicion of employers, and energize auction pens in a malevolent assault upon the labor movement.

W. T. Clarke, Professor of Agricultural Extension and Superintendent of Farmers' Institute, has analyzed the soldier's yearly ration in order to emphasize the necessity for increasing food production and preventing waste at home. Professor Clarke points out that the ration of a soldier at the front comprises 456 pounds of fresh beef, 417 pounds of wheat flour, 456 pounds of potatoes, 55 pounds of beans, 73 pounds of sugar, 11 pounds of milk, 15 pounds of lard, 12 pounds of butter, 15 quarts of syrup and 30 pounds of dried fruits. When these figures are multiplied by one million, the number of men now in France, and then doubled or tripled, as the number is expected to be, the enormous supply of food materials that must be transported across the Atlantic may be said to assume gigantic proportions, and tells effectively why food must be conserved by those in civilian life.

Germany will have a serious labor problem in the days to follow the war, according to information which has reached the United States Department of Labor. Latest reports indicate that the number of unions has declined from 771 to 450 since 1913, and that the membership of the Berlin Central Labor Union has fallen from 302,000 to 130,000 in the same time. Hamburg's 130,000 trade-union members in 1913 have been reduced to 47,000 now, and Dresden's membership of 96,000 has been cut in half. The great wastage of German man-power in the war not only means a future danger but has led to widespread troubles in Belgium which, according to Lieut. Henry De Man, of the Belgian Army, who spoke before the Boston Central Labor Union, caused the greatest labor strike in the world. More than 1,000,000 organized laborers of Belgium, he said, refused to do any work for the Germans.

The campaign for the Fourth Liberty Loan will begin September 28th and close October 19th. The result of the loan will be watched with keen interest in Europe, not only by our associates in the war against the Teutonic powers but by our enemies. It will be regarded by them as a measure of the American people's support of the war. The Germans know full well the tremendous weight and significance of popular support of the war, of the people at home backing up the army in the field. As the loan succeeds our enemies will sorrow; as it falls short they will rejoice. Every dollar subscribed will help and encourage the American soldiers and hurt and depress the enemies of America. The loan will be a test of the loyalty and willingness of the people of the United States to make sacrifices compared with the willingness of our soldiers to do their part. There must be and will be no failure by the people to measure up to the courage and devotion of our men in Europe. Many of them have given up their lives; shall we at home withhold our money? Shall we spare our dollars while they spare not their very lives?

WIT AT RANDOM

Father (lecturing wild son)—Suppose I should be taken away suddenly, what would become of you?

Son—Oh, I'd be here, guv'nor! The question is, what would become of you?—Boston "Transcript."

His Honor—Rufus, didn't you hear that you had to work or fight?

Rufus—Yaas, boss, I sho' dun hyer dat. So I goes an' gits married right away.—The "State."

He had been a regular Sunday caller for six months, when one evening he dropped in arrayed in a new suit of clothes.

"That is a lovely wedding suit you have on," remarked the dear girl.

"W-why," gasped the astonished young man, "t-this is a b-business suit!"

"Well," rejoined the d. g. calmly, I mean business; don't you?"

And the next day he put up $9.98 of his hard-earned wealth for a solitaire.

A Buffalo man stopped a newsboy in New York, saying, "See here, son, I want to find the Blank National Bank. I'll give you half a dollar if you direct me to it."

With a grin, the boy replied: "All right, come along," and he led the man to a building a half-block away.

The man paid the promised fee, remarking however, "That was a half-dollar easily earned."

"Sure!" responded the lad. "But you mustn't fergit that bank directors is paid high in Neoo Yawk."—Pittsburg "Chronicle-Telegraph."

A south Missouri man recently was tried on a charge of assault. The state brought into court as the weapons used, a rail, an ax, a pair of tongs, a saw and a rifle. The defendant's counsel exhibited as the other man's weapon, a scythe blade, a pitchfork, a pistol and a hoe. The jury's verdict is said to have been: "Resolved, That we, the jury, would have given $1 to have seen the fight."—"Fun."

A colored preacher was vehemently denouncing the sins of his congregation. "Bredern and sistern, Ah warns yo' 'gainst de heinous sin ob shootin' craps! Ah charges yo' 'gainst de black rascality ob liftin' pullets. But, above all else, bredern and sistern Ah demolishes yo' 'gainst de crime ob melon stealin'."

A brother in a back seat made an odd sound with his lips, rose and snapped his fingers. Then he sat down again with an abashed look.

"Whuffo, mah fren," said the parson sternly, "does yo' rar up an' snap yo' fingers when Ah speaks ob melon stealin'?"

"Yo' jes remi'ns me, pahson," the man in the back seat answered meekly, "wha lef' mah knife."—"Farmer's Guide."

We don't fancy the nickname "doughboys" for our soldiers. True, they are the flour of our youth, and have good sticking qualities and are doughty lads well able to batter the enemy, and we 'knead 'em and all that, still there's something soggy about the nickname to our mind.

"I want you to be sure, Eliza, that you use the thermometer to see that the water is the right temperature when you give the baby his bath," said Mrs. Blinks to her nurse girl.

"Land sakes!" replied Eliza cheerfully. "I don't need a thermometer. If the baby turns red I know the water's too hot, and if he turns blue I know it's too cold—and there you are!"

MISCELLANEOUS

YOSEMITE.

By T. O. Dore.

Against the blue horizon in the south,
Eastward, grand-corridored and chambered out,
Loom outdoor palaces of unknown gods;
Where grandeur carved and splendor dashed his brush,
And epics rang by dawn, by sun, by hush,
Stirred giant minds to raptures and to sobs.
Broad silver ribbons streaming from the sky
And swung by zephyr's hand festoon the walls;
Tall shafts resolving into mist, as falls
The light and irised bridges flame on high;
Swift crystal cataracts down the green chasm leap.
And vanish shattered in the roaring deep;
Not like the haunts of old idolatry
In ruins, but in primal beauty stand
The walls as reared by their creator's hand—
Ascends above the clouds—Yosemite,
In semblance of a resurrected sod,
The grand cathedral of the Living God.
With nave and transepts, domes and altars main,
From font to apse, from crypt to steepled vane,
Mid loud hosannahs, phrased by silver blasts
And organ cascades—it forever lasts
And celebrates Earth's penitential mass.
Enshrined and curtained by a holy air,
The awful silence summons Man to prayer;
His Faith takes wings like incense from the brass,
As in the inmost chapel of the heart
Lies prone before his God—his better part.

CHARITY.

If I want to redeem the world I can come nearer my object and do less harm by being just toward myself and just toward everybody else, than by "doing good" to people. The only untainted charity is justice. Often our ostensible charities serve but to obscure and palliate great evils. Conventional charity drops pennies in the beggar's cup, carries bread to the starving, distributes clothing to the naked. Real charity, which is justice, sets about removing the conditions that make beggary, starvation and nakedness. Conventional charity plays Lady Bountiful; justice tries to establish such laws as shall give employment to all, so that they need no bounty. Charity makes the Old Man of the Sea feed sugar plums to the poor devil he is riding and choking; justice would make him get off his victim's back. Conventional charity piously accepts things as they are and helps the unfortunate; justice goes to the legislature and changes things. Charity swats the fly; justice takes away the dung heaps that breed flies. Charity gives quinine in the malarial tropics; justice drains the swamps. Charity sends surgeons and ambulances and trained nurses to the war; justice struggles to secure that internationalism that will prevent war. Charity works among slum wrecks; justice dreams and plans that there be no more slums. Charity scrapes the soil's surface; justice sub-soils. Charity is affected by symptoms; justice by causes. Charity assumes evil institutions and customs to be a part of "Divine Providence," and tearfully works away at taking care of the wreckage; justice regards injustice everywhere, custom buttressed and respectable or not, as the work of the devil, and vigorously attacks it. Charity is timid and always is passing the collection box; justice is unafraid and asks no alms, no patrons, no benevolent support. The best part of the human race does not want help, nor favor, nor charity; it wants a fair chance and a square deal. Charity is man's kindness. Justice is God's.—Dr. Frank Crane.

PRACTICE WHAT YOU PREACH.

By Emil G. Buehrer.

Workingmen affiliate with trade unions for a definite purpose. They believe that by joining together and acting in concert with their fellows they will achieve beneficial results, improve their working and living conditions and in a degree lessen the burden that rests on the back of the toiler from times immemorial. History and experience, past and present justify and amply warrants such belief.

However, when they come to the question of where the legitimate exercise of the functions of the union shall end, there may arise slight differences of opinion due to the lack of thought and knowledge on the part of those new in the movement.

The human being is essentially selfish. "Self preservation is the first law of nature," is the axiom familiar enough to us all. Hence, there is nothing surprising to find in the ranks of organized labor some so innately selfish that they become quite "peeved" when approached by a label enthusiast reproaching them for not purchasing at all times union products. The writer recently near one of our large shipbuilding plants asked a mechanic who was in the act of buying some non-union tobacco, why he did not ask for and buy only union label tobacco. Needless to say he was promptly relegated by this disciple of unionism to the nether regions and told to mind his own business. As far as "he" was concerned "he" knew what he wanted, was spending "his own" money and would buy what suited "him." The writer then tried to point out to the young man how the founders of the labor movement had struggled to establish the organizations, the hardships they had endured, and the sacrifices and privations that had been their lot in endeavors to lay the foundations of a more humane and just industrial system. Since "he" was now one of those who was sitting down to the festive board enjoying what others had prepared for "him," the least that one might expect in return would be that "he" and those like him who are the chief beneficiaries of the union shop would assist in establishing and maintaining it for others.

It is our common experience that there are numbers of this kind of persons in every organization who are willing to reap all the benefits but unwilling to assume any of the duties and responsibilities that go with membership in a labor union. Thoughtlessly, and without sympathy for their struggling brothers in other crafts they calmly and complacently load up themselves and those dependent upon them with non-union goods or goods produced by persons hostile to all organized labor.

Of course, the remedy is obvious. We must do all we can to enlighten the rank and file of the tremendous power they command through the purchasing power that lies within their own hands. But, as many unions have grown rapidly during the last year, the movement has experienced difficulty in educating the new membership in the fundamentals of trades unionism.

In the regular course of trade union practice we do not hesitate in asking the employer to sign up a "union-shop" agreement requiring him to employ none but union men and union women, regardless of whether the employer could hire non-union men cheaper or work them longer hours. We assume as a matter of course, likewise the employer, that as union workers we are entitled to higher wages and shorter hours than under non-union conditions.

If it is fair to ask the employer to employ none but union workers, and each man of a union thinks it right to demand this from his employer, why is it not equally fair and essential to insist upon that when a union man or woman in their turn become employers they shall insist upon hiring only union workers to do their work, that it is required that the goods they buy shall bear the union label. It should be as essential to the union mechanic that the clothes he wears shall bear the union label as that the shop in which he works employs only union labor. And so with every article a union man or woman buys, with every service that they pay for, and in every relation in which they have a choice between doing something that will aid the cause of trade unionism or that which will injure it.

The duty of every union worker to his movement is clear. Why not then enforce this duty as willingly and faithfully with respect to other unions as with respect to one's own? Charity, love and honor begin at home, but they would lack in their essential qualities and usefulness if they are not permitted to grow and embrace more and more of their fellow humans, and reach the perfection which expresses itself in universal and permanent dominion.

The mother is the real home-maker. It is her sweet life that gives the home its atmosphere. It is through her love that God comes first to her little children. The Rabbis used to say, "God could not be everywhere, and therefore He made mothers." The thought is very beautiful.—J. R. Miller.

DID TROTSKY PEN ANTI-WAR PLANKS FOR SOCIALISTS?

Information has been given to the American Alliance for Labor and Democracy tending to show that a portion of the rabid anti-war platform of the Socialist party in St. Louis was drafted by Leon Trotsky, Bolshevik chieftain, now in Russia.

It has been believed ever since the convention was held that a great part of the platform was written in New York and taken to St. Louis, but the authorship was generally attributed mostly to Morris Hillquit.

The new allegation makes it a possibility that Hillquit and Trotsky together wrote the platform, which coincides largely with the views of Trotsky.

Never give way to melancholy. Nothing encroaches more. I fight against it vigorously. One great remedy is to take short views of life. Then why destroy a present happiness by a distant misery which may never come at all, or you may never live to see? For every substantial grief has twenty shadows, most of them your own making. —Sydney Smith.

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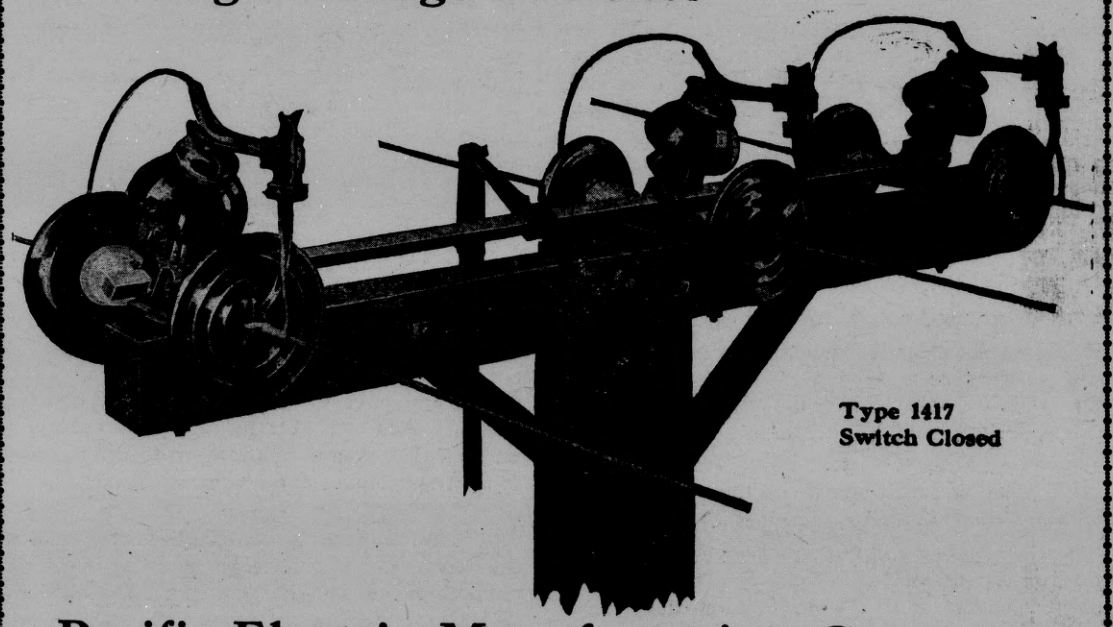

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The Mooney Case

By Edwin V. McKenzie
Associate Council in Mooney Case.

. . . . "But that I am forbid
To tell the secrets of my prison house,
I could a tale unfold, whose lightest word
Would harrow up thy soul, freeze thy young blood.—Shakespeare."

The question before the world is the guilt or innocence of Mooney. The appeal of the contending partisan forces is to the "police force of public opinion." Whichever side captures public opinion will win. In presenting so intricate a case one must state it fairly and argue it reasonably, otherwise he cannot convince a reasonable audience. Several questions are involved at first sight. We must clear away the debris; settle upon an issue and then start our review. The prosecution contends:

First Proposition.

That Mooney is a bad man. That a bad man committed this crime from which the conclusion irresistibly and conclusively flows, that Mooney, being a bad man, committed the crime.

Second Proposition.

That Mooney, together with his co-defendants, actually and directly committed the crime.

Third Proposition.

That (if he did not directly commit the act), he by his writings, speeches and conduct (other efforts) encouraged some one (whether known to him or not) to commit it.

Nearly all the statements purporting to come from the prosecution which have appeared from time to time in the public press, the briefs to the Governor of the State of California; the belated brief which the prosecution attempted to file before the President's Mediation Commission some three months after that body had finished its work and disbanded; the repeated interviews given out, had to do solely with the first proposition. "Mooney was a bad man."

Mooney is a bad man, as far as this case is concerned, only if he be guilty of the crime charged. He is a bad man because he is guilty. He cannot be guilty because he is a bad man, otherwise all bad men would be guilty of this charge. The prosecution mistakes the premise for the conclusion; to merely state the first proposition is its own refutation. All men are entitled to a fair trial when accused of crime; the best and the worst, the good and the bad. And unless the state proves a defendant guilty of the crime charged, he should of course, go free.

Proof that a man has a bad reputation, is deemed bad, is but hearsay; it would be to convict upon what people say about a man, and this is whether such reputation be founded on rumor maliciously circulated or honest fact. Reputation is as often wrong as right. The majority even is sometimes wrong. But what difference does it make whether Mooney be a good or a bad man? He is not before the bar of public opinion upon that charge, but upon the charge of the most heinous character, the death of ten innocent human beings. The question is—is he guilty or innocent? If we who are of the defense leave even a doubt upon this matter, decide the case against us. We do not claim the benefit of a reasonable doubt, we will demonstrate—that Mooney cannot possibly be guilty.

As a distinct proposition we will pass on from proposition number one and deal only with its subject matter under sub-division three. We believe by this time that we have convinced you that Mooney should not be condemned to death solely because he is claimed to be a bad man. When we have dealt with sub-division two and three we will advert to this again and show you that bare accusation is all that remains, "Mooney is a bad man."

We could give, of course, historical examples of this proposition but it is unnecessary.

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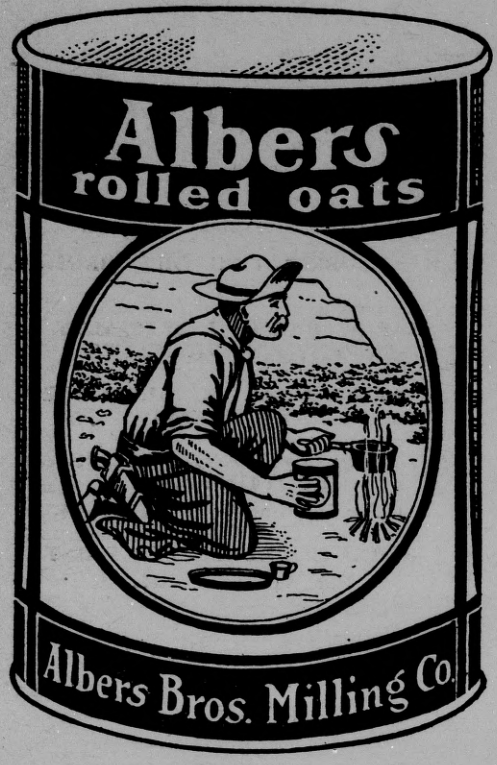
On July 22, 1916, a preparedness parade was held in San Francisco; the line of march was from the waterfront up Market street (a street which traverses the city from end to end), a distance of about two and one-fourth miles to the point of disbanding. At right angles to Market street the first five side streets from the waterfront were filled with divisions waiting to fall in to the parade after the divisions formed on the water front should have passed. The first of these streets (after the waterfront) is named Steuart. It was on or near the sidewalk of this street and against a building wall about 100 feet from the building line on Market street that the bomb exploded at 2:06 p. m. The parade was scheduled to start at 1:30 p. m. It actually started at 1:31 p. m. one minute late. All the divisions from the waterfront had passed on to and out Market street and the divisions lined in Steuart street had just started to march (three minutes before) when the explosion occurred.



Warren K. Billings was first tried, convicted and sentenced to life imprisonment. The only direct witness against him was John McDonald. Remember this name.

Three months later Thomas J. Mooney was tried and the only direct witnesses were John McDonald and Frank C. Oxman.

McDonald said: That he saw Billings and Mooney at the corner of Steuart and Market streets.

That he saw Billings place the suit case at the point where the explosion afterwards occurred.

That the length of time from when he first saw Billings and Mooney until he last saw them was fourteen minutes.

That he saw them immediately before the explosion, (2:06 p. m).

That he had not known either of them before that day nor had he ever seen them before.

That he stood against the building wall on the east side of the street and saw the two at the building wall on the west side; that between himself and these men were spectators on the east sidewalk (three rows deep); spectators on the west sidewalk (three or more rows deep) and in the street proper were paraders, sixteen men abreast from curb to curb and densely packed. Billings is five feet four inches in height. Both sides agree on the time of the explosion; six minutes after 2. If this story be true, Mooney and Billings are guilty. This we concede.

Suppose we had been able to prove that between 1:30 p. m. and 2:30 p. m. on that day those defendants, or either of them, had been on a public platform lecturing to exactly one thousand people at a point two miles away, would you accept McDonald's statement or the combined statements of the one thousand persons? And yet the one thousand might be wrong and McDonald right. As between the two groups McDonald in one and the 1000 in the other you could decide either way. There would be there at least a choice; at least a conflict. We had far better proof than that. Proof that leaves no choice to the human intellect.

We have three separate photographs of Mooney one and one-half miles away from Steuart and Market streets and in each of the photographs are three clocks showing the time 1:58 p. m., 2:01 p. m., 2:04 p. m. Date July 22, 1916.

The prosecution concede the correctness of the photos.

1st.—As to presence in them of the figure of Thomas J. Mooney.

2nd.—That the time shown in each of the three is correct.

3rd.—That the date is July 22, 1916—although there is no better degree of proof than an admission of one's adversary we did not need nor require such an admission.

The pictures show Mooney in the foreground together with Mrs. Mooney and others and the parade in the background. The head of the parade is shown; that head left the waterfront at 1:31, arrived in front of the building at 975 Market street (the pictures show Mooney on the roof of this building) at 2 o'clock—twenty-nine minutes walking time from the scene of the explosion. There is the head of the parade immediately before and after 2 o'clock and there is Mooney and there are the clocks.

Where was Mooney between 1:52 and 2:06? You answer that question right here and now! Where was he? That's the question that confronts a nation—you answer—don't let anybody do it for you.

McDonald says Mooney was at Steuart and Market streets between 1:52 and 2:06 during all of that interval—the photographs say he was on

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the top of a nine-story building one and one-half miles away in the company of nine other people at 1:58, 2:01, 2:04. Somebody is lying—who is it? McDonald or the photos—even the bitterest of the prosecutions say the photos are telling the truth. What do you say? What does the jury of public opinion say? That's all there is to this case—every word that is important. But we will give the unimportant to you. We will fill in the details.

But first let me do this—lest the charge be made that I am drawing my own conclusions as to the facts—let me quote them from the sworn testimony—I will quote the facts—you draw the conclusions:

From the Testimony of John McDonald.

"A. I was standing across on Steuart street on the east side of Steuart street, about 12 or 15 feet from the Market street building line. (Trial of Weinberg, page 893).

"Q. You never got closer to him than the distance of the street plus the sidewalk?

"A. That was as close as I got to him. (P. 894).

"Q. Where was the crowd standing with reference to saloon entrance (west side—point of explosion)?

"A. They are standing on the curb. (Page 894).

"Q. Now point out to the jury how far the crowd was lined up on Steuart street, or the crowd extended. You understand the diagram, of course, don't you?

"A. Well, as far as I could see I guess they were standing along about that far down (indicates a point which would place crowd between himself and point of explosion rendering it physically impossible for him to have seen Billings, five feet four inches in height behind the crowd).

"Q. You know what the diagram represents?

"A. Yes, sir.

"Q. You know that these are the sidewalk doors and that is the hole made by the explosion?

"A. Yes, sir.

"Q. You know as you proceed in the direction of my finger you are going up towards Market street. You don't want to change it now.

"A. I said they might be down further and they might be up that far.

"Q. That is your best approximation?

"A. Yes, sir.

"Q. So let it stand as it is, is that right?

"A. Sure.

"Q. And that crowd extended along there all the time you were looking down there, is that correct?

"A. Yes, sir.

"Q. And through or over or under that crowd you had to look to see what occurred there, is that correct?

"A. Yes, sir. (P. 898).

"I arrived at Steuart and Market streets at 1:40 p. m. (Page 901 Weinberg—page 744. The parade was in progress. I stood on Market street for a while (five minutes), then I became tired and walked around on Steuart. (Time 1:45 p. m.) (Weinberg trial, page 886).

"Q. What time did you first see Billings?

"A. About five minutes after I walked around on Steuart street. (Weinberg trial, 901).

"It was eight or ten minutes to two when I first discovered Billings. (Trial of Tom Mooney, page 381).

"Q. You don't want to change it, do you?

"A. No, sir, I don't want to change it. (Weinberg, page 904).

"Q. What time did Billings place the suit case?

"A. Two o'clock. (Weinberg trial, page 904).

"Q. That is correct as to what time he put the suit case down?

"A. Yes, sir.

"Q. You don't want to change it, do you?

"A. No, I don't want to change it. (Weinberg, 906).

"Q. Now tell us what Billings did after he put the suit case down?

"A. Well, he went down to the saloon door and pushed the door open and Tom Mooney came out and they talked and Mooney looked up alongside of the wall as if he was looking to see where the suit case was, and he pulled his watch out and looked at his watch and said something to Billings and they talked, passed some words between each other and he looked at his watch again and they looked at each other, and it looked to me like they were nervous and excited. (908 W.) Then Billings took a cut through the parade and Mooney put his hand up to the side of his face,

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kept his watch in his hand and looked at it, threw his shoulders up and stood there a second, looked on Steuart street again then took a cut through the parade across Market street. Then I lost sight of him. Then I started down Market street and got as far as the Alameda Coffee House (85 feet away), and the explosion occurred (2:06 p. m.) (W. 912).

"Q. That is correct is it not?

"A. Yes, it is correct of course.

"Q. Do you not wish to change it now?

"A. No, sir, I am not changing it.

"Q. And that stands, in the light of all the explanation you have made here today; as your statement of what occurred there that day?

The Court — He said it was his testimony. The witness has said yes it is and he stands by it.

"Q. Meaning now.

The Court—Yes. (Weinberg 914).

(Note). McDonald was unable to describe a single division of the parade either by name or uniform.

"Q. Tell us something you saw in this parade while you were looking at it.

"A. I could not say; I could not say what part of the parade was going up.

"Q. Can you tell us one single thing you saw in the parade?

"A. No, sir, I cannot.

(Note)—McDonald admitted that from July, 1916, until November, 1917, he had been fed, lodged and clothed by the police authorities.

Against this story we have the photographs taken by a young man named Wade Hamilton, delivered by him to the police, two days after the explosion and concealed by the District Attorney in the trial of Billings and finally produced when forced by Judge Franklin A. Griffin. The prosecution concedes that the photographs are beyond suspicion. Will you concede as much?

Where was Mooney between 1:52 and 2:06 p. m. on July 22, 1916?

McDonald says Steuart and Market.

The photos say one mile and one-half away.

What do you say—union labor?

CRATER LAKE IN WINTER.

Crater Lake in summer is a dream in soft, glowing, ever-changing colors, accented by a depth of foreground indigo, as one looks down from the bluff, which almost surpasses belief. Its keynote is romantic unreality.

Crater Lake in winter is no longer a dream in colors, but it is no less romantic, no less unreal. The winter snowfall is extremely heavy, as it is throughout the Cascade Range, for above the spot where Crater Lake now lies once reared perhaps the greatest volcano of the Cascades. The snow heaps high upon the volcanic rim, covers thickly the steep slopes, clinging even to precipitous bluffs, and turns every tree and shrub into a thick plume of feathery white. The only color is the blue of the sky above and its reflection in the mirror below. In its way it is quite as amazing and unbelievable a picture as Crater's dreamy summer aspect.

This superb winter spectacle is well worth the long trip by sleigh and skii from Medford, but so far few have made it for the joy of the making. Two of the officials of the Crater Lake National Park who were there in February needed 10 days for the round trip.

Always laugh when you can; it is a cheap medicine. Merriment is a philosophy not well understood. It is the sunny side of existence.—Byron.

DIXIE'S LAND.

The term "Dixie's Land" originated in New York in the early part of the past century. It is said to have come into general use when Texas joined the Union, and the negroes sang of it as "Dixie."

In the popular mythology of New York City Dixie was the negro's paradise on earth in times when slavery and the slave trade were flourishing in that quarter. Dixie owned a tract of land on Manhattan Island, and also a large number of slaves, and his slaves increased faster than his land, an emigration ensued and naturally negroes who left it for distant parts looked to it as a place of unalloyed happiness, and it was the "old Virginny" of the negroes of that day; hence Dixie became synonymous with an ideal locality combining ineffable happiness and every imaginable requisite of earthly beatitude.—"Philadelphia Press."

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FLANDERS.

Originally, the name Flanders applied only to Bruges and its immediate neighborhood, but in the Eighth and Ninth centuries the scope of the term was gradually extended until it came to be a general designation for the whole of the coast region from Calais to the Scheldt, whilst, at its greatest extension, it meant not only the modern provinces known as East and West Flanders, but the southernmost portion of the Dutch Province of Zeeland and a considerable district in northwestern France. The vagueness as to extent which these variations naturally produced still exists today, and, although everybody knows what is meant when one speaks of the "war in Flanders," most people would be hard put to it to say when the war in Flanders becomes the war in Belgium, or the war in France. It is for this reason, too, that it is not easy to trace the history of Flanders. Its annals are so much bound up with other annals, and when, in the Fourteenth Century, the domains of the Counts of Flanders became united with the domains of the Counts of Burgundy, Flanders really ceased to have a separate history.

From the Tenth Century, however, until the Fifteenth, Flanders crowded its years with incidents. Its counts were, for the most part, noted warriors, and as jealous for their country towards the foreigner, were he the King of France or the King of England, as they were jealous of their own rights towards their subjects. The Count of Flanders was ever ready to march against Northman, Frenchman, or Englishman. He is willing, as was, for instance, the famous Count Philip of Alsace, to promote the growth of the municipalities, for which in the Twelfth Century, Flanders was famous. Ghent, Bruges, Ypres, Lille, and Douai, under him, made progress as flourishing industrial towns; but if Ghent, Bruges, Ypres, Lille, or Douai evinced any signs of independence, then would the Count of Flanders descend with great sternness and suppress it.

When he could find no adequate scope for his energies in his own country, or the spirit of adventure lay hard upon him, he would go off on a crusade, as did Count Robert II, who wrought so valiantly in the first crusade that he was given the name of "the Lance and Sword of Christendom." And when it was not a count that was distinguishing himself, after the manner of his day, it would be a countess. The story of Black Meg, who fought so valiant a fight for the succession of her son, supported the trials of a civil war, outdistanced all her enemies, and ruled her country with a strong, stern hand, has in it material for a great story.

As to the district itself, its history centers chiefly round its great towns. Ever tending to grow more wealthy and independent, they left the counts of Flanders no peace, but, at the same time, were always made abundantly loyal by any threat of foreign invasion. Thus, towards the close of the Thirteenth Century, when Guy of Dampierre, son of Black Meg, was count, Flanders allied itself with Edward I of England against the King of France. This led to the invasion of Flanders by Philip the Fair. Guy, with his two sons and the leading Flemish nobles, were taken prisoners to Paris, and Flanders was ruled as a French dependency. The great towns, however, had no love for French rule, and it was not long before a Flemish rebellion was on foot, and Bruges and other towns, under the leadership of Peter de Conync, master of the cloth weavers, rose in revolt. That was in May, 1302. In July a French army of invasion was defeated near Courtrai, but Flanders never regained its former strong position, and, in 1382, the territory came, in consequence of a marriage, into the possession of the dukes of Burgundy. The title, however, persisted and persists, and, practically through all the centuries, Flanders has kept itself in the front rank of attention by the great struggles which have swept back and forth across its territory. "At the war in Flanders" was as familiar to English ears in the Seventeenth or Eighteenth Century as it is in the Twentieth.

An ordinary potato may be used to tell which is the positive and which is the negative terminal of a circuit. Insert the two current-carrying wires into the freshly cut surface. A green stain, due to dissolved copper, indicates the positive wire. If both wires are surrounded by dark-colored stains the current is alternating. If you haven't a potato handy, place both terminals in water. Bubbles will collect at the end of the negative wire. If the water is in a metal vessel be very careful not to let the wire touch the metal or a short circuit will be formed.

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Unheralded, unnoted save by those accustomed to study vital international affairs have occurred international labor conferences in the capitals of Mexico and the United States for the purpose of making possible the feeling and relationship of neighborliness between the United States and Mexico.

The Mexican revolution has brought new opportunities by increasing our community of interests. The Mexican revolution represented an aspiration of our neighbors to the south that leveled the boundary line barrier between the liberty loving people of the United States and those of Mexico. Mexico became a neighbor in spirit and purpose as well as in physical fact.

Standards of living and desires are an essential basis for true neighborliness.

Internationally these facts make necessary the development of a continental policy, affecting all countries occupying the American continent and democratically determined and administered. There is comparatively little to obstruct the development of such a policy with the English speaking people of the North, but there are differences of institutions and standards of living that constitute barriers more formidable than the political boundary which separates Mexico from the United States.

These separating barriers have been the fulcrum used by exploiters in foisting a system of special privilege upon the Mexican people. Concessionaires could not maintain their vampire hold on Mexican wealth and life if they had not accentuated differences and stirred up strife and misunderstanding between the peoples of the two countries. An isolated Mexico would be more easily their victim, or an "annexed" Mexico more profitable.

The interests of the concessionaires were identified with the old regime, the cientificos of Mexico. They antagonized the revolution. They have tried to force United States intervention in Mexico.

Wage earners have learned that their interests are furthered by co-operation rather than competition. The basic facts of the workers' advancement and betterment are the same the world over. The one force in the United States to which Mexicans confidently turned for unfailing assistance and advice was the organized labor movement. During all the years when the revolution in Mexico was in the making the organized workers of the United States were closely in touch and co-operating with efforts of Mexican fellow-workers.

When the revolution finally came it gave Mexican wage earners the right to organize and assured an agency by which the masses of both countries could co-operate.

It was through this agency that in 1916 when war with Mexico seemed unavoidable, that mutual confidence was restored and the border terrorists repulsed. When the war clouds were dark representatives of organized labor of Yucatan and of the City of Mexico met with the executive council of the American Federation of Labor, and the foundation laid for an international labor movement of the two Americas.

During the months following a Pan-American Federation of Labor Conference Committee was organized at the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor at Washington. This resident committee consisted of representatives of the American Federation of Labor, organized labor of Yucatan, of Cuba, Porto Rico and Chile. A publicity campaign was conducted setting forth the purposes of the Pan-American Federation of Labor in order that the general thought in all countries might be receptive. Early in the spring of 1918 it seemed necessary to take some definite action. Carlos Loveira, who chiefly directed the literary propaganda sent out from headquarters, made a tour of many of the South American countries explaining the proposed Pan-American Federation of Labor. In order that an agreement might be reached between the labor movement of the United States and Mexico, it was decided to send a commission representing the American Federation of Labor to Mexico. The commission consisted of the following: James Lord, president of the Mining Department, American Federation of Labor; Santiago Iglesias, president of the Free Federation of Labor of Porto Rico, and John Murray, member of the International Typographical Union, and secretary of the Pan-American Federation of Labor Conference Committee. The commission was

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given the following credential which explains the work they were to perform:

"Washington, D. C., May 11, 1918.

"To Whom It May Concern:

"This is to certify that by authority of the Buffalo convention of the American Federation of Labor, the undersigned as president thereof, and as chairman of the Conference Committee of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, has appointed the bearers,

"James Lord, president of the Mining Department of the American Federation of Labor;

"Santiago Iglesias, president of the Free Federation of Workingmen of Porto Rico;

"John Murray, secretary, Pan-American Federation of Labor Conference Committee,

to meet and confer with the representatives of the workers of Mexico and with all others for the following purposes:

"1. To bring about a better understanding between the workers of Mexico and of the United States.

"2. To bring about a more reciprocal and co-operative course between the working people of the United States and Mexico.

"3. To lay the basis for the mutual acceptance of the union cards of the bona fide unions of both countries, subject to the approval of the particular unions involved.

"4. To help secure the economic, political, and social improvement of the conditions of the workers of both countries through—

(a) Economic action.

(b) Sympathetic and co-operative legislation.

(c) Sympathetic and co-operative administration.

"5. To establish the permanency of the Pan-American Federation of Labor between the workers of Mexico and the United States, and thus help secure the extension of the Pan-American Federation of Labor to the labor movements of all the Latin-American countries.

"6. To endeavor to have a representative labor man or two to visit the convention of the American Federation of Labor, St. Paul, Minnesota, beginning June 10, 1918.

"7. To endeavor by every honorable means and within the limits of the powers of private voluntary associated effort, to secure the co-operation of the governments of the United States and Mexico in firmly establishing the principles of protection of the peoples and the governments of all American countries against sinister influences or power from any other country or group of countries in the war.

"8. To safeguard as far as it is possible the principles of autonomous independence and democratic Pan-American countries from open or insidious attempts of autocratic forms of government.

In a word, to bring about mutual goodwill, co-operation and confidence among the workers, the peoples and the governments of Pan-America.

"I bespeak for Messrs. Lord, Iglesias, and Murray, the courteous consideration of all workers and the officers of the government of Mexico, and wish for their mission the greatest possible success.

"Fraternally,

"SAMUEL GOMPERS,

"Chairman, Pan-American Federation of Labor,
President, American Federation of Labor."

The commission performed its work and two of the members returned in time to make a report directly to the St. Paul convention of the American Federation of Labor. The report is as follows:

To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirty-eighth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, Greeting:

In submitting our report to you we are reporting the essential things as we have found them existing in Mexico, and call attention to the fact that on account of lack of time, and lack, at the present moment, of authentic national records in the Mexican labor movement, we are compelled to, in many cases, make general statements rather than technically and numerically exact statements. The existing movement in Mexico, while comparatively large, is to a large extent an aggregation of local syndicates and groups of syndicates, some of individual trades, some of industrial groups, and others resembling our federal labor unions.

We received our passports on May 13, 1918, and after thoroughly discussing the entire matter of the Pan-American Federation, and the existing

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conditions as far as we knew them with President Gompers, we called on the Mexican Ambassador, Mr. Bonillas, who viséed our passports and also advised regarding many angles of the existing situation. Ambassador Bonillas expressed his enthusiasm as to the necessity and possibilities of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, and the tremendous moral forces that might result therefrom, regarding international relations between North America and the Latin American countries. He pointed out that there had never been a time more opportune than the present, for the setting up of their international machinery. He urged us to call on the Governor of Coahuila, at Saltillo, on our way to Mexico City, as their Governor and his associates had demonstrated their interest and sympathy for the organized workers to the extent of assisting in the calling of a national convention of labor, which had been convened in Saltillo, and had laid the basis of a National Federation of Labor for Mexico.

We crossed the border at Laredo, on May 18th, and were very kindly assisted in the exchanging of money, dealing with the customs officers, etc., by Mr. Tomas Pinerro, general superintendent of the northern division of the National Railway of Mexico. We heartily appreciated this assistance from Mr. Pinerro, as we were very much crowded for time, and it is very difficult to negotiate an excursion into Mexico at this particular time.

We arrived in Saltillo Saturday night, May 19th. On Sunday we met representatives of the local labor movement, who informed us of the work of the recent convention held there. At this convention the representation was as follows:

Coahuila.

The Federation of Trade Unions of Saltillo; the Railway Workers Union; Machinists' Union of Mexico; Co-operative Mutual Union; Agricultural Syndicates; Firemen and Machinists of Coahuila; Common Laborers' Union of Coahuila; Miners' Union Syndicate of Mexico (representing 13 syndicates).

Torreon.

Industrial Workers' Committee; Industrial Textile Workers' Union; Smeltermen's Industrial Union (3 locals); Textile Workers' Union (5 locals; Electrical Workers' Union; Carpenters' Union; Department of Railway Employees; Chauffeurs' Union of Mexico; Iron Smelters' Union; Common Laborers' Union of Torreon (male and female); Miners' Unions of Torreon (3 locals); Machinists' Helpers of Mexico.

Monterey.

Smeltermen's Union (3 locals); Painters and Decorators of Mexico; Motormen and Conductors' Union; Common Laborers' Union.

Durango.

Grand Miners' Union, Miners' Union No. 7.

Tamaulipas.

Carpenters and Joiners' General Union; Casa del Obrero Mundial; Bricklayers' Syndicate; Federal Labor Union of Female Workers; Federal Labor Union of Male Workers.

Neuvo Laredo.

Carpenters and Joiners; Federal Labor Union; Tin Workers' Union; Laborers' Union; Female Labor Union.

San Luis Potosi.

Miners' Union (5 locals); Shoemakers' Union.

Auguascalientes.

Federal Labor Union; Federation of Syndicates.

Zacatecas.

Machinists and Electricians' Unions; Laborers' League; Workingmen's Chamber of Unions.

Michoacan.

Federation of Syndicates; Society of Unification of Indian Labor; Agricultural Syndicate No. 3.

Jalisco.

Federal Labor Union; Machinists' and Electricians' Union; Casa del Obrero Mundial.

Cuanajuanta.

Miners' Union No. 44.

Queretaro.

Labor Union Syndicate; Textile Workers' Union.

Hidalgo.

Laborers' Federal Union; Federation of Unions.

The Agricultural Workers of Mexico; Mexican District Federal Union; Machinists and Electricians' Union; Printing Trades; Railway Employees; Free Laborers' Union; Executive of the Miners' Unions of Mexico; Building Trades; Street Railway Union; General Order of Railroad Workers of Mexico; Bakers' Union; Restaurant Employees, and a few other unions, all of Mex-

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ico City, did not send representatives, giving as a reason that they were suspicious of the motives, and feared it might be a political game, as it was called by the Governor of the State of Coahuila. The same position was taken by the Orizaba and other unions of that city, and the workers in Vera Cruz, Tampico, the State of Sonora, Tlaxcala, the Federation of Textile Syndicates of Pueblo, representing 32 factories, and the Workingmen's League of Agricultural Workers of Yucatan.

The Saltillo convention declared in favor of a national federation, and elected three executive secretaries, instructing them to get in touch with all trade and labor unions with a view of launching the Mexican Federation of Labor.

We feel that the call for the Saltillo convention is of such an original character, being sent out by the Governor of a State, that we are embodying this document in our report:

The acting Governor of the State of Coahuila called a convention of all the labor organizations of the Republic of Mexico. The call reads as follows:

Pursuant Article 23 of the Constitutional Congress of the independent, free and sovereign State of Coahuila of Zaragoza, it is decreed:

Article First.—The Executive of the State is authorized to organize and call a labor congress to be held in this city upon the following basis:

I. Under this decree we call upon all the labor associations of the republic to elect their representatives and to be present at a national labor congress which will meet in this city.

II. The national labor congress shall study and discuss the problems that may affect chiefly the Mexican workers, with absolute exclusion of every matter of religious and political character.

III. Each labor association shall be represented by a delegate.

IV. The period of the sessions of said congress shall last twelve (12) days and will be inaugurated the 4th of May, next.

V. The election of the chairman and directors, the report of credentials and all of the matters pertaining to the interior regime of the congress shall be determined by the proper congress assembly.

VI. To the end that all the discussions and resolutions passed by this congress be known all over the nation, it shall be given publicity, together with the daily debates.

Article Second.—The Executive of the State is also authorized to pay the expenses of the organizations and holding of such labor congress that may be required.

Signed in Saltillo on July, 1918, by General Bruno Neira, Acting Governor of the State of Coahuila.

The Governor of Coahuila was seriously ill with a fever that is prevalent there at this time, and was unable to see us personally, but sent Professor Jose Rodrigues Gonzales, speaker of the House in the State Legislature, and Rafael Quintero, chief of the Department of Public Works, to call on us and convey his greetings. We found them very democratic and highly interested in the question of labor in Mexico. They believe that Mexican labor has now its golden opportunity for complete, thorough organization on constructive, progressive lines, and were enthusiastic over the possibilities of the Pan-American Federation of all the Americas. They urged us to address some public meetings in Saltillo, as did the workers representatives, but after considering the matter, we felt that as we were from a belligerent country, and Mexico a neutral country, our proper course was to go first to Mexico City, pay our visit to President Carranza and other public officials first, and then outline a program which they agreed with. We promised to come back to Saltillo, if time would permit.

We left Saltillo on Monday night and arrived in Mexico City on Wednesday morning. We went to the American Embassy, met Ambassador Fletcher, explained the object of our mission and together went over the existing situation. Ambassador Fletcher gave us some interesting and valuable information regarding the present status in Mexico, and heartily approved of our mission and plans. He took us to call on President Carranza, who received us very courteously. President Carranza listens carefully and speaks deliberately, and after a comprehensive discussion he appeared convinced of the power for good a Pan-American International of Labor Centres would be, and wished us every success. We next called on the Secretary of War, Pablo Gonzales. Here again we were treated very courteously. We explained, as we had to President Carranza, the purposes of the Pan-American Federation of

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Labor, and also, in reply to his questioning, the voluntary plan of action generally prevailing in North America in the organized fields, and the joint relations, mutually agreed to, existing in the various industries, including the War Labor Board and its contemplated scope. We also called on the Secretary of the Bureau of Labor, and the Bureau of Mines, but found, that while we were cordially received, and they were much interested in all the information we gave them regarding our Department of Labor and Bureau of Mines, they are only just feeling their way as yet, and are unable to work in a comprehensive way on account of lack of funds, no appropriation having as yet been made for these institutions. They have done very little in the way of compiling statistics and are at present getting what information they can, regarding methods, etc., from the American Federation of Labor and the Federal Departments of the United States.

From the time we arrived in Mexico City, representatives of groups of workers began to come to our rooms to discuss the situation. When the object of our visit was explained to them, they in every case, expressed themselves in favor of it. We met the representatives of the Federation of Syndicates of Mexico City, and explained fully the object of our mission. We told them that we were not there to assume to tell them how or on what basis they should be organized, that each national movement in the Pan-American Federation would determine its own plans, ideas and methods, that the Pan-American Federation could never be anything other than a voluntary association of national labor centres, and therefore no affiliated movement could dominate or force its will on others. We, on being questioned, explained the structure and methods of the American Federation of Labor, its trade and industrial unions, departments and co-operative federations.

They all, to the most radical, agreed that their most urgent need at this time was national unity, wherein trades and industries could function in the largest and most effective way. They realize that a vast aggregation of local syndicates acting independently does not bring the results that a closer affiliation would, and in fact is only one step beyond individual bargaining. Many who were suspicious that we might be there to try to change their revolutionary (?) methods to methods they thought existed in the United States of the North, ended their arguments by appealing to us to go through the industrial centers and mining fields and organize the syndicates into a national movement such as we enjoyed.

We always told them that we would help and advise them in every way we could, and were desirous of seeing them occupying the strongest economic position, through national organizations and a national federation, but we could only help, advise and exchange experiences with them, and that their movement must be a Mexican movement, set up by their own efforts and will.

They then arranged a larger meeting of the representatives of all unions that could be reached for the following Wednesday night. This meeting was held in the Bakers' Hall, and was crowded to the limit. We adhered to the same program, answered all questions, and refused to in any way discuss the war in any of its phases. The result was unanimous expression in favor of the Pan-American Federation again. A large public mass meeting was then agreed on, to be held in one of the large theatres the following Sunday.

In the meantime we had been and were the

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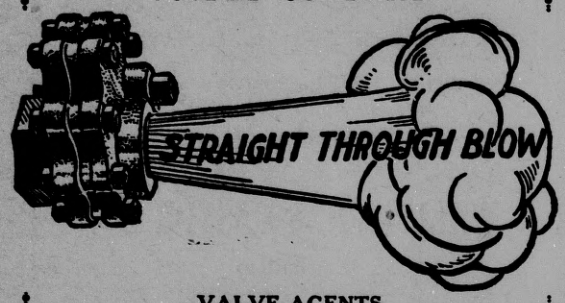

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storm center of a most vicious campaign of German propaganda. The propaganda started at the time we crossed the border and we occupied the front pages of the most prominent newspapers of Mexico every day and several times a day, and presume we are still being so honored. Fortunately, this campaign was not as intelligent as it was industrious, and the gross exaggerations, vilifications and silly lies all reacted in our favor, and helped our work. We were called strike-breakers, jingoes, were accused on the front pages and editorially of being there in the interests of the brutal allies, and our object was to force peace-loving Mexico to fight her good friend, Germany, on the side of the thief and murderer, America. Accounts appeared in these papers of America stealing Texas, Arizona, and California from Mexico. The leading paper of Mexico, "El Democrata," is a morning paper, is not pro-German, but German. It is owned by a group of Germans, and is sold as the "German paper." The same group get out an evening paper called "Nacionale." The editorials, while we were there were attacking us and preaching syndicalism. An anarchist or syndicalist editorial appeared daily. The workers were warned against the blandishments of these "yanquis" and told that in syndicalism rested the only hope of the oppressed worker. Other papers commonly said to be subsidized by Germany, hammered at us with somewhat less venom. "Excelsior," the only paper in Mexico that dares to give any justification to the allied cause, gave complete and accurate reports of the meetings. This paper is fighting for its existence and is up against a strong force.

We collected clippings from all these papers, and they are very interesting. In addition to the front page headlines and editorials, they got out special bulletins on account of us, and posted them on the buildings of the principal streets of Mexico. They got every important statement we made and either distorted it or reversed it, even when our statements were made in the most open and public manner. If we said the workers of America had not surrendered the right to strike they would edit the statement "the Yankees exposed" "they admit that the American Federation of Labor has forbidden the workers from striking for the war period." On the heels of this would appear a condemnation of us for driving and compelling our membership to go into the state militias. Their editorials and articles were a continual bid for something to happen.

On Saturday, it was discovered that the Germans had forbidden the management from letting the mass meeting to be held there on Sunday, and the committee on arrangements was so informed. They immediately leased another theatre, in as good a location, and before we arrived it was filled, including the three galleries, and this in spite of the fact that on Sunday morning an article appeared in "El Puebla" to the effect that a free lottery was to take place in some theatre, at the same time as our meeting, and free tickets would be circulated for the drawing of two thousand pesos, divided into large and small amounts. The working people, as the government, are in financial straits, and we shall not soon forget these men and women, packing our meeting ahead of time, and the splendid ovation they tendered us. Time will not permit a recital of all the clumsy, false, foolish and laughable efforts of this division of Germania to upset our work. As far as the workers were concerned, they finally drove all the doubters over to us.

Our Sunday meeting was the greatest success of all, and there was some measure of satisfaction in seeing the solid faces of the "El Democrata" group occupying the nearest box to the stage. Their creatures were scattered through the audience, but were well known, and were refused the floor because they did not represent any of the syndicates. One man who had been occupying the stage near the box in which the "El Democrata" group were seated, a member of a union, got recognition at the close of our addresses and repeated the charges that "El Democrata" had been making, that we had again stated that the American Federation of Labor had forbidden strikes, that we were helping in the persecution of the I. W. W. martyrs in jail in Chicago, etc. He was laughed and hissed down by the audience. This meeting being on June the 2d, we had to arrange to leave Monday morn-

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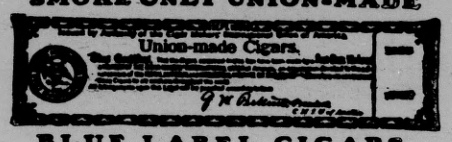

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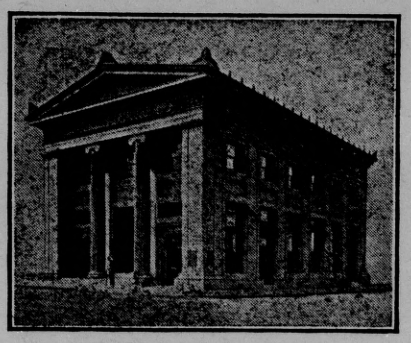
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ing, June 3d, and John Murray remained to attend a meeting called for Wednesday, the 5th, at which meeting the matter of sending delegates to the St. Paul convention would be discussed. It is hardly likely they will do this on account of lack of time, and the great distance.

There are probably half a million workers organized in Mexico, in the syndicates and federations of syndicates. The only industries that approach nationalism, as far as we could learn, are the miners, textile workers and railroad workers. There are approximately fifty thousand miners in the State of Coahuila alone, and the miners at Coahuila, Torreon and Durango are getting together in some kind of a national federation. There are unions through all the mining fields of Mexico. It is hard to get authentic figures from the different districts, owing to the long distances and lack of national and district unity. But these local organizations are active and operating in their own way, each syndicate making demands, settlements, or striking independently, which we are inclined to believe often has a demoralizing effect on both operations and workers.

The hard rock miners of Pachuca and Elora, near Mexico City are organized, about 22,000 in both camps. We were told by a mine manager that the managements had given up fighting the unions, and were now hoping for some steadying influence to appear, whereby equitable agreements could be negotiated by localities or districts that would insure some measure of industrial peace at least during the life of such agreements. He told us that recently they had been compelled to close down their mill for repairs, which automatically closed the mine. The syndicate demanded the wage for this period of idleness, claiming that machinery and ore could very well wait a week, but their stomachs could not. He was compelled to grant their demands. He admitted that wages were too low, but that if the unions were to go into negotiations in a business-like way with the companies, with a view of establishing a joint agreement for the district regarding wages, conditions, and the machinery for peacefully handling disputes, a much better wage and working situation could be arrived at.

We cite this instance because we found considerable of this sentiment among employers and others who have probably not been too considerate of the conditions of toil heretofore. Most of the underground men in this instance were only receiving $1.25 Mexican. As the cost of living is far higher in Mexico than in the United States it is impossible for men, women and children to enjoy even the common necessaries of life at this wage. Wages are somewhat higher in the coal fields. This is room and pillar mining, both pick and machine, with machine mining on the increase. Many of the mines in Coahuila are very gaseous, the Watt lamp exclusively being used. Miners are paid by the ton or car. It is mostly contract work. Drivers, timbermen, tracklayers, etc., are paid from $1.50 to $2.50 per day, Mexican. They have the universal eight-hour day in all mines in Mexico.

The textile operatives are on piece work, are well organized and are trying to establish a minimum wage in the industry. There is a sharp division of opinion as to whether this should be done by law or by organized effort. The attitude of the government has in some localities not been too friendly, and strikes have been suppressed and peaceable parades forbidden, and this is causing much concern regarding the theory of state regulation. All employees in and around the mills, are like the miners, organized into one union. The operatives of Pueblo were striking while we were in Mexico, demanding an 80 per cent advance in wages, and improvements in working conditions. They were offered a 60 per cent advance, and the congressman from that district informed us that he felt they would get

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together in an amicable settlement in a few days.

The cooks and waiters have one of the strongest organizations in Mexico City, and maintain good headquarters. They have complete organization as have the street railwaymen. The street railwaymen are handicapped since their last strike, the authorities having forbidden them from striking. This attitude on the part of the authorities is likely to lead to serious trouble, if persisted in, as declaring strikes illegal does not prevent them from happening. The building trades in the city are not so well organized as in other cities, probably on account of government pressure. We were informed that in Vera Cruz, Tampico, Puebla, and Orizaba they were well organized, and in some cases the wage rate is from $5 to $7 gold. This is the highest wage we heard of.

The Mexican workers have a close fellowship feeling and sympathy with the French and their method of organization. It must be borne in mind that they were denied freedom of action or thought for ages, and when the revolution gave them their opportunity for action, they were at the mercy of syndicalists, and professional men who had become ultra-radical by reading. When we asked them if they had not read Herve's repudiation of syndicalism, some said it might be a trick of capitalism and one man said that this was not the first time that twelve months in prison had changed a man's mind. They evidently could not understand how a beautiful theory like syndicalism could be repudiated. At the same time there are many clear thinking men and women who realize that their movement is not bringing results, and are strongly of the opinion that they must unite on a plan similar to ours. This is the preponderance of feeling we found expressed in and out of the meetings and conferences. Santiago Iglesias is well known among them, as he is known in all Latin-American countries. He is conversant with their history and wrongs, speaks their languages, and succeeds in bringing the most radical to agree with him on the program and methods. He was strongly urged, as were all of us, to hold meetings throughout Mexico. He represents to them a line of thought and action that they have not heretofore understood or applied. He convinced them of the possibility of doing that which has not yet been done, organizing a national federation of labor, composed of national, self-governing unions.

It may seem to some of us strange that this idea did not occur to them first, but their opportunity came to them comparatively recently, and Mexico is decidedly a country of localities and local viewpoint. The feeling that has animated the local labor movements is now ripe for being molded into a national and international direction. We have repeatedly told them that it is not our purpose to instruct them, but rather to help, assist and co-operate with them in any reasonable manner within our power. They realize that co-operation and helpfulness from the north will be fully assured in a general way by their participation in the Pan-American Federation of Labor. In the building of a virile, intelligently organized national labor movement in Mexico we see their greatest opportunity and guarantee for democracy. When the workers intelligently respect themselves, they compel respect from society as a whole. We feel confident that this can be done; if their opportunity is lost, the workers of Mexico face an unhappy future. It is our undivided opinion that with the setting up of the Pan-American International in working order, the closer relations that will exist and the better opportunity for understanding

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—and the best trousers, as far as we honestly know, that you can buy at this price. Corduroys have always been a preference with many men for work wear; but now, since good wool is all going to France, they are far superior in warmth, appearance, and durability, and this special line is special priced at $3.50 a pair
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MARKET AND JONES

each other's viewpoint and problems, the economic future of the toilers of Mexico can be placed on a happier and securer basis.

We have here portrayed the essential facts as we have found them, in consonance with the time and opportunity we have had. We extend our sincere appreciation to the A. F. of L. of the trust reposed in us in our being selected for this most important mission.

Respectfully submitted,
JAMES LORD.
SANTIAGO IGLESIAS.
JOHN MURRAY.

The third member of the commission, John Murray, remained in Mexico to arrange for the sending of a Mexican labor commission to the St. Paul convention. The Federation of Workers Sindicatos and the Mexican Federation of Labor sent the following communication to the American labor commission:

Mexico.

Federacion de Sindicatos Obreros Del D. F.*
Comite Central.

*Translation of the responses to the American Federation of Labor Commission from the Federacion De Sindicatos Obreros Del D. F., being also, almost word for word, the responses of the Confederacion Regional Obrera Mexicana.

To Our Fellow Workers, Santiago Iglesias, James Lord, and John Murray, Representatives of the American Federation of Labor, Greetings:

In regard to the propositions that we have received through the General Secretary of our association, Mr. Francisco Ramirez Plancorte, which were introduced and read for consideration before our various associations which belong to the Federacion de Sindicatos Obreros del Distrito Federal, and in accordance with the answer given by the Central Committee of the Confederacion Regional Obrera as instructed by the labor congress recently assembled in the city of Saltillo, Coahuila, we have great satisfaction in giving the following statement:

1. The Federation which we represent has in its program, perfectly determined the scope and work for a close understanding of the labor organizations, wherever may be their locality, their good relations, solidarity, all as an indispensable means to obtain common welfare; and, therefore, we are pleased to give you our felicitations for that affinity of opinion between us which is referred to in a general way as labor unity.

2. We judge it most important and beneficial for the higher nature of organized labor that there be acceptation and interchange of union cards for identification by the labor organizations which are affiliated with the Federation; and, for this reason, we are in favor of close relations within and out of Mexico, and we consider it urgent to call upon every power and to seek every opportunity that may bring about and facilitate guarantees to the working men who immigrate from one country to another; and we hope for reciprocity on the part of the American Federation of Labor at every opportunity in this important matter.

3. We comprehend that we must procure and obtain better economic and social positions for the laboring classes by every possible means as the sure way to exercise our rights as working men within the surroundings in which we live, and we can assure you that at the opportune time every effort will be used to establish the rights of organized labor of this region; but we consider it very premature and inconvenient, at this moment, to form a labor program which might compromise our efforts and action in the matter relating to international politics.

4. We believe it is necessary and beneficial that there be established an interchange of labor representatives who will appear before the labor conventions or congresses which may be organized in any place in the world. To this end we will do our best to send our delegation to the convention at St. Paul, Minnesota, in order that this delegation can study and obtain information which may prove of great benefit. Wishing to express our sincere recognition of the attentions which we have received, we hereby express our gratification.

5. We will be satisfied, if circumstances permit, to assist in the international conference which is being organized for the future to be held on the border of the United States and Mexico for the purpose of considering and determining the best form in which to constitute

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Military Wrist Watches .....$1.98 up	
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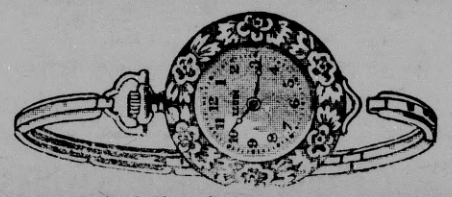

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UNION MADE AND MADE HERE
First in Quality First in Style

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Factory, 1114 Mission

the central committee of the Pan-American Federation to the end that the nobility of the American working men be intensified.

6. We are profoundly convinced that it is our unmistakable duty to constantly study the best methods in order to get the necessary development of labor's personality which will bring about decisive justice in the future for all mankind and we will with much pleasure do our modest part to obtain the realization of this sublime ideal.

In conclusion: We believe it is necessary, owing to the continued increase of capitalist organization everywhere, that such organizations of capital be confronted by organizations of labor wherever the former may manifest itself, in order to avoid the inhuman exploitation to which all unorganized labor is subjected.

We conclude by giving you our complete assurance that all we have stated above is the conception of our sincere thoughts in regard to the matters discussed. And we take this happy opportunity to express our appreciation of your estimable conduct and send a fraternal salute from the workers of Mexico to the workers of North America.

Mexico, June 7, 1918.

Francisco Ramirez Plancarte.

For the Federation of Workers Syndicates of the Federal District by the Executive Committee.

It was further arranged the Mexican Labor Commission should be present at the St. Paul Convention. That commission consisted of the following: Luis N. Morones, Secretary General, Mexican Federation of Labor; Salvador Alvarez, representing Sindicatos of Mexico; Ignacio Alvarez, representing Organized Mill Workers of Mexico.

When this commission, together with John Murray, left the border line, they sent the following telegram to the President of the A. F. of L. at St. Paul:

Laredo, Texas, June 16, 1918.

Samuel Gompers, Pres. A. F. of L., Convention, St. Paul, Minn.

Commission representing Mexican Federation of Labor and Sindicatos of Mexico arrived in Nuevo Laredo today and sends greetings to convention. Being too late to attend convention we desire to have conference in Washington with committee appointed by your convention. Answer.

Luis N. Morones,
Secretary General, Mexican Federation of Labor.
Salvador Alvarez,
Representing Sindicatos of Mexico.
Ignacio Alvarez,
Representing Organized Mill Workers of Mexico.
John Murray,

Inasmuch as the St. Paul convention was held only six months after the 1917 convention, by the time the telegram from the Mexican commission reached St. Paul it was evident that the work of the convention would have been completed before the commission could reach that city. Therefore, the commission was requested to come to Washington for conferences with representative labor men at headquarters.

A formal meeting of the Pan-American Federation of Labor Conference Committee was held on June 27, 1918. Mr. Luis N. Morones and Mr. Salvador Alvarez represented the Mexican workers, Ignacio Alvarez having been taken seriously ill at Laredo. Mutual expressions of fraternity and goodwill were exchanged. The Mexican delegates presented their credentials, explaining that they had been authorized to attend the St. Paul convention.

Conferences were held at Washington extending over several days in which the resident members of the E. C. and the officers of the various departments and labor representatives at

THE COAL MINERS

WHY THIS ATTEMPT TO MAKE THEM THE GOAT?

The assertion of the National Coal Operators' Association that drunkenness has become so rampant among the Miners that only by war-time Prohibition can an adequate production of coal be insured, is being exploited by Dry newspapers throughout the country. If one is to believe what the Operators and these newspapers say, the Miners must be a bad lot. For a typical instance, the reader is referred to the following from the New York "Tribune" of July 13th:

> * * * the riotous prosperity that has come to the miners * * * has made drinking the chief impediment to expansion of production. * * * their effectiveness when they do work is greatly impaired, and they are kept in an unsound mental condition, which makes them callous to appeals for their co-operation in the present emergency.
>
> The coal miners of America are today exhibiting only 60 per cent of an easily attained degree of efficiency. They rarely work more than thirty-five hours a week; many of them do not do better than twenty-one hours a week, and some are making as high as $300 to $500 a month.

These newspapers are employing special writers to visit the mines, but in almost every instance the latter base their articles upon what some employer or preacher has told them. What the Miners themselves have to say apparently does not concern them. And the slandering and libeling of these workingmen goes on, with Dry agitators becoming more happy and more clamorous.

But the Miners are making themselves heard in other directions. Meetings are being held wherever coal is dug, and **the sources of these falsehoods are challenged to substantiate them.** International and other officials of the United Mine Workers have resented, in statements appearing in these advertisements and elsewhere, these foul aspersions upon their members. These statements we recapitulate, as follows:

International President Hayes:

> The Miners, despite a depletion of their forces as a result of the War, have greatly increased production during the past year * * * Prohibition advocates are taking advantage of the present emergency, * * * the Mine Workers of the country deeply resent their allegations that the use of beer is responsible for coal shortage.

President Farrington, of the Illinois branch of the Mine Workers' organization, added to his denial of the assertion of the Operators that he supported their demand for Prohibition, that so far as Illinois was concerned, **the use of beer, etc., in no wise hampered coal production.** In a telegram to the United States Fuel Administrator, he upheld the Illinois Miners as industrious and patriotic as the men employed in any other war industry.

Secretary Nesbit, also of the Illinois Miners:

> When the Coal Operators' Association attempt to lay the blame of coal shortage to the Miners because of booze, they are doing the very thing that may disturb the harmony that has existed in the coal industry for the past months. * * *
>
> Neglected and poorly equipped mines helped to cripple the output. * * * Safety appliances were neglected; the State mining laws were violated; * * * mine inspectors and Miners' officials were continually after the coal companies to make them put their mines in workable condition. * * *
>
> We will dig the coal that is required to lick the Kaiser if the Coal Operators will do their part. * * * **One satisfied man is worth a dozen disgruntled men in the coal mines or anywhere else.**

But there must be some reason for the Operators so suddenly becoming beaters of the Prohibition drum. Do they fear that after so much blundering and blithering **Uncle Sam may take over their mines?**

"Stop thief!" yells the fleeing pickpocket, hoping to divert attention from himself.

"The Miners did it, Uncle Sam!" yell the Operators. "We haven't done anything. Just take their beer away, but leave us our mines (and our wine cellars), and everything will be all right."

(Y-11) (Advertisement by Labor's Emergency Liberty League.)

headquarters participated. Proposals were drawn up in the conferences. The committee requested President Gompers to give the Mexican commissioners a letter explaining the nature of the proposed Pan-American Federation of Labor and incorporating the joint agreement adopted. President Gompers' letter follows:

Washington, D. C., July 3, 1918.

To the Commissioners from Mexico: Luis N. Morones, representing the Confederation Regional Obrera Mexicana (Mexican Federation of Labor), and Salvador Alvarez, representing the Federacion de Sindicatos Obreros Del Distrito Federal de Mexico (Federation of Workers Syndicates of the Federal District of Mexico):

In the name of the American Federation of Labor, I express appreciation of your fraternal mission to this country because of the manifest desire to bring about better understanding and more advantageous relations between the people of the United States and of Mexico. Our countries have both benefited in the past through conferences participated in by labor representatives of our two countries which meeting during a crisis in the relations between our two Republics emphatically recorded the desire for peace between our peoples and thus give power to our chief executives to maintain this great idea. We realize that there are powerful forces seeking to subordinate the best interests of the masses of our two countries to further their personal privilege; therefore, we deem it of fundamental importance that everything shall be done to promote free intercourse between the masses of our countries and to establish agencies whereby the desire and the ideals of the common people shall be given an opportunity for expression. It was in furtherance of these purposes that the American Federation of Labor proposed a Pan-American Federation of Labor, and has sought conferences with the working people of Mexico. As has been well said by a noted Mexican high in the confidences and offices of his country, "t remains with the organized labor movements of our countries to bring about a fraternal understanding that even diplomacy might not be able to accomplish."

In addition to the international conferences in which you have participated here in Washington during the past few days with the Pan-American Federation of Labor Conference Committee, I desire, in the name of the American Federation of Labor and the working people of the United States, to urge your earnest co-operation in the following proposals drawn up and approved in our conferences:

"As well expressed in the responses of the commissioners representing the Confederacion Regional Obrera Mexicana (Mexican Federation of Labor), and the Federacion de Sindicatos Obreros Del Distrito Federal de Mexico (Federation of Workers Syndicates of the Federal District of Mexico), wherein it is declared that:

" 'Fifth. We will consider satisfactorily, if circumstances permit, the proposal to assist in the international conferences planned for the near future on the frontier of the United States and Mexico, to study and decide upon the best form in which to constitute the Pan-American Federation Central Committee to the end that there be an ennobling unification of the workers of America,' and as clearly set forth in the credentials of the commissioners sent to Mexico by the American Federation of Labor, as follows:

" '5. To establish the permanency of the Pan-American Federation of Labor between the workers of Mexico and of the United States, and thus help secure the extension of the Pan-American Federation of Labor to the labor movements of all the Latin American countries,' and, in view of these things, a delegation from Mexico having been sent to the Convention of the American Federation of Labor, recently held in St. Paul, Minnesota, but for lack of time was not able to attend the sessions of the same, it having closed on the tenth day, and the delegation having been invited by President Gompers of the A. F. of L. to a meeting in the offices of the American Federation of Labor at which were present the comrades, Samuel Gompers, Luis N. Morones, Salvador Alvarez, James Lord, John Murray, Santiago Iglesias and certain members of the Pan-American Federation of Labor Conference Committee, Vice-Presidents of the A. F. of L. in Washington, and having named a special committee to submit proposals to the labor movement of Mexico for delivery to the commissioners of Mexico for the consideration of the or-

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OUR SERVICE, WORKMANSHIP and MATERIALS cannot be surpassed.
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Proper Facilities For
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UPHOLSTERING and
REPAIR WORK
Inspection Invited
Van Ness Avenue at California St.

ganized workers of the sister Republic, the aforenamed committee presents the following recommendations and solutions:

"First. That an international conference be held at the earliest possible date, at the most convenient place on the frontier, at which shall be represented the American Federation of Labor and representatives of the organized labor movement of Mexico.

"Second. That President Carranza and President Wilson of the two Republics be earnestly requested to be present at this conference for such periods as they may deem proper.

"Third. That the governors of the border States be invited to attend this international conference.

"Fourth. That the subjects for consideration at the international conference shall be:

"(a) The establishment of the Pan-American Federation of Labor.

"(b) The establishment of better conditions for workingmen who emigrate from one country to another.

"(c) The establishment of a better understanding and relationship between the peoples of the United States and Mexico.

"(d) To utilize every lawful and honorable means for the protection and promotion of the rights, the interests and the welfare of the peoples of the United States and of Mexico.

"(e) To utilize every lawful and honorable means for the purpose of cultivating the most favorable and friendly relations between the labor movements, the peoples and the republics of Mexico and of the United States."

It is tentatively proposed that the conference shall begin in Laredo, Texas, Wednesday, November 13, 1918, to continue until the business before the conference shall have been completed. When definite replies to this invitation have been received, further and detailed information will be conveyed.

This communication and the conference suggested are but the forerunners for what is hoped and believed will inaugurate the movement that shall permanently establish an international labor movement of which all Pan-American countries shall be component and equal parts.

World events of the recent past have demonstrated the necessity for organizing and maintaining agencies for democratizing relations between nations and for directing international dealings in accord with principles of democracy and human justice. These ideals can be accomplished only when the people themselves through their representatives are participating in the molding and determination of international affairs. We realize that the lives of nations are now so closely inter-related that no one country can maintain the rights and protect the welfare of its men and women without the co-operation of other nations. So closely identified are the interests and welfare of the working people of Mexico and the United States, and so slight a barrier does our boundary line interpose to economic and commercial organization, that it is indispensable to maintain friendly relations and a constructive program and agencies for mutual self-protection and advancement of the working people of our two countries. These mutual interests are keenly appreciated by the working people of the United States, as is proved by the declarations and instructions adopted by several conventions of the organized labor movement of this country.

In the name of the working people of the United States, I ask you to convey to the working people and the citizens of Mexico generally, the goodwill and desire of the working people and the liberty-loving people of the United States for mutually advantageous relations with the people of your country. Convey to the organized labor movement of Mexico our deep appreciation of their action in authorizing your mission to the workers of the United States, and our earnest desire that they shall approve and co-operate in the additional program suggested.

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Please keep me advised as to the wishes and decisions of the Mexican labor movement.

Fraternally,

Samuel Gompers,
President, American Federation of Labor.

The plan agreed upon in these conferences is the practical method of solving the difficulties that interfered and still further threaten to interfere with friendly relations between Mexico and the United States. By organizing international agencies that stand for mutual justice and co-operation for common interests, power and opportunity is taken from those predatory elements which seek merely their own gain and special privileges at the expense of the peoples of both countries. A meeting of the minds and wills of the masses of two countries represents a new conception of international diplomacy and a new era in international relations and organizations.

When the results of these co-operative efforts shall have proven the mutual advantages to both Mexico and the United States, we feel assured that the beneficent influences will reach our fellow workers of all Pan-American countries and genuinely and firmly establish the Pan-American Federation of Labor to the lasting friendship, benefit and fraternity of all the peoples of these countries.

UNITED STATES FUEL ADMINISTRATION

Authority to penalize violators of the lightless night order, either by imposing fines, which will be turned over to the Red Cross, or by discontinuing temporarily their electric service, was received in a telegram from National Fuel Administrator Harry A. Garfield last week. The extent of the penalty is left to the discretion of Albert E. Schwabacher, Fuel Administrator for California.

Despite frequent warnings many concerns throughout the State are disobeying the order forbidding exterior lighting, local fuel administration officials said yesterday. This will not hereafter be tolerated, Schwabacher announced.

To bring about a rigid adherence to the ruling, city and county chairman have been requested to report at once any persons or concerns disobeying the Lightless Night Order, and should continued infractions be found, penalties immediately will be imposed, Schwabacher said.

FOUNDRY WORKERS GET INCREASE.

At a conference Tuesday between representatives of the Foundry Employees' Union and the James Graham Manufacturing Company of Newark, an agreement was reached under which the Graham company granted the men an increase in pay and shorter hours. In future they will work eight hours instead of nine, and their wages will be increased as follows: Furnace men, $4 to $4.95 per day; casting men, $3.50 to $4.30, and foundry helpers, $3 to $3.57. The Graham company is one of the largest stove foundries in the West.

A man never fails to credit a good guess to his superior intelligence.

REGULATE WOMEN LABOR.

The New York State Industrial Commission corrects the claim that employers on government work in that State are not subject to New York labor laws. The commission has instructed its legal department and its inspectors to enforce the state law where women are employed by private contractors on government work.

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"Children of Fate" and "Men in War"

Reviewed by Alice Park

The French story, "Children of Fate" is dedicated by its author Marice Rutledge, to women of all countries, and it blames women. Perhaps these two reasons may lead men to read it with curiosity as to women's responsibility for war.

Pierre, the young Frenchman, is the hero, and Natalie, the young American girl in Paris, is the heroine of "Children of Fate," a novel written early in 1917. Perhaps the author means that all the characters are children of fate when war comes, and mothers, wives and sweethearts are not only reconciled to the going of the men to war, but urge them to go.

The women in the book are types found in every country. There is the old mother whose mind has been so long devoted to family duties and family details, that acquiescence in the going of her sons is only one more expression of the duty that has guided her through her household tasks all the years.

There is the young wife, with three young children and a fourth to come soon. She is proud of her soldier husband. Even the children play war, wearing uniforms, carrying toy weapons, charging and shouting.

There is the young girl who is so filled with hero worship for her mate when he becomes a soldier, that she is happy in her adoration of the man of her dreams, "always in spotless uniform, with clean sword uplifted."

There is the aunt Lorraine, a widow, in love with a Polish sculptor who distrusts all conquerors, and has no impulse to fight even for France invaded. But she catches the war fever from all about her because "all the other women are sending their men," and tells her lover in a tragic scene in his studio, that she will not love him unless he does as the men around are doing and goes to war. He is so shocked by her appeal that his love is destroyed, and in rage he throws down the statue of Christ he has been working on and declares he will go as she bids, but go hating her and hating others, and never return.

And there is Natalie, living with her brother in a studio, and making garden plans for a living.

Pierre doesn't want to kill men. He doubts and questions and reasons about war, the institution, the war at hand, and his conduct in war time. Most of all, he seeks Natalie's approval when he decides to be a soldier like his brothers and all the men he knows.

Natalie, whose doubts and questions are different from his because she is an American, and he is French surrounded by French, has misgivings, but she buries them, tells him he is justified, smiles upon him when he says goodbye, and writes letters that sustain him. His doubts per-

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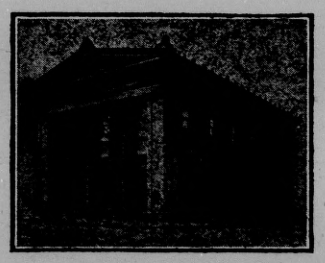

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sist and new questions rise up when he is at the front. He turns again and again to her letters to keep him in the battles.

Pierre writes: "Your letters save me. . . . I could not keep my ideals from the bog if I could not dip them constantly in the pure fountain of your faith."

The five women are all interwoven in the plot of the story, and each stands out distinctly as a type, not only in France, but in every country in the world.

Natalie writes what she knows Pierre wants her to write, covering up her real condemnation of all war, and telling him that he is a knight. Again and again he asks her if he is justified in killing, and again and again she answers "yes."

But when Natalie's brother catches the war fever and asks her advice about joining the army, Natalie speaks out her real horror of all war. She has played the part so well in regard to Pierre, that her brother is astonished to learn that it is only a part. She tells him that he must be brave enough not to kill, wise enough not to be killed. "The stalwart sons of our mothers would do well to stay at home and offer their health and brains to better service than that of the cannon." Her frank declaration startles him, but convinces him.

After seven months and there have been many deaths and the women of France are wearing crepe, Pierre wounded in arm and head, returns to his family and to Natalie. She stops all thought of people and of issues at stake, gives every thought to her lover and the new possibilities of their future together. He improves steadily and longs to marry her and become again an architect. There are months of convalescence with the old questions about killing and his duty. He makes his own answers, that he has done his share of slaughter, and can stay at home even though his arm is strong enough to carry a gun.

It is his old mother who upbraids him as a coward, compares him with the son killed at the front and the son now fighting, and calls him a shame to himself and to the family. After another struggle with himself, he is convinced that he must return to the army, and he calls Natalie to meet him in the great city garden, that he may tell her his new decision. He looks for her to repeat her justification, and her smiling goodbye of courage and approval.

But Natalie, in ringing words, says she will not lie again to him, that the sacrifice of his life is useless, that wars will go on as long as one set of men promote war for money and another set of men can be induced to do the actual killing and dying.

Natalie speaks: "Men are ruled mainly by their primal instincts. The women are fools and criminals. They should have known if races are to evolve into a higher state, it must be through finer, cleverer methods than war. . . . I, Natalie, fell into the sin of other women. I sent you off with lies, lies, lies, to suit your uniform. I will not send you the second time."

Children of fate, indeed, are Natalie and Pierre.

There are writers who refuse to blame women for war in a man made world. Other writers place all the blame upon women because they are the mothers and teachers of men.

Marice Rutledge blames women for aiding and abetting war, but depicts contrasting types, and her heroine arrives at convictions that stand the supreme test.

Austria Taboos Book.

The Austrian story "Men in War," by Andreas Latzko, is forbidden circulation in Austria. The

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critics call the book artistic realism but Austria has put it under the ban.

Five short stories make up the book. They remind the reader of the dozen shorter stories told by Ellen LaMotte, the Red Cross nurse in "The Backwash of War."

It is the first story that accuses women. To be sure the accusation is that of a man crazed by shock. But the story may well be considered in connection with "The Children of Fate."

The scene is just outside the walls of a hospital in Austria. The discussion begins among the maimed and injured men who ask each other what is the best thing in war. One declares with confidence that it is to hear—after five months of nothing but men—to hear a woman's voice. Another says no, it is to get a bath and fresh bandage, to be put to bed and rest. The third says it is the sudden quiet at the front after every kind of shot and echo.

The man suffering from war shock sits silent, his wife by his side longing for his recognition of her. Then someone asks what is the worst thing in war. Dill breaks his silence before anyone else can answer.

"The only awful thing is the going off. You go off to war and the women let you go. That's the awful thing. Must go of course. We all must go. Heroes are the style now. Mrs. Dill wanted a hero to match her new hat. That's why poor Dill had to go and lose his brains. . . .

"Weren't the women deceiving us, eh? I'd like to know—weren't they cheats? . . . My wife was in fashion too, you know. Not a tear! I kept waiting and waiting for her to begin to scream and beg me at last to get out of the train, and not go with the others—beg me to be a coward for her sake. Not one of them had the courage to. They just wanted to be in fashion. Mine, too! Mine, too! She waved her handkerchief just like all the rest. . . .

"You want to know what is the most awful thing? . . . The war wasn't. The war is what it has to be. . . . To find out that the women are horrible—that was the surprising thing. That they can smile and throw roses, that they can give up their men, their children, the boys they have put to bed a thousand times, and pulled the covers over a thousand times, and petted and brought up to be men. That was the surprise! That they gave us up—that they sent us— sent us! . . .

"The women sent us. No general could nave made us go if the women hadn't allowed us to be stacked on the trains, if they had screamed out that they would never look at us again if we turned into murderers. . . .

"I didn't want to believe that they could stand it. 'They're only pretending,' I thought. They're just restraining themselves. But when the first whistle blows, they'll begin to scream and tear us out of the train, and rescue us."

The doctor comes to lead Dill away and says something intended to quiet him. Dill picks up the words he hears and speaks again with fury:

"'That's the way women are once for all,' are they? Since when, eh? Have you never heard of the suffragettes who boxed the ears of prime ministers, and set fire to museums, and let themselves be chained to lamp-posts for the sake of the vote? For the sake of the vote, do you hear? For the sake of their men? No. Not one sound. Not one single outcry. . . .

"No woman fought for us or defended us. Not one moved a little finger for us in the whole wide world! They drove us out!"

Six Points of View.

Analyzing the characters of the two stories, there are five women in the ordinary walks of life, and one man suffering from shock. The man has one idea, that women are to blame for war, and that it is horrible to discover that women won't save the men from the wars men make.

The old mother and the woman no longer young drive men to war. The wife and the immature young woman acquiesce proudly in the man's choice. The young woman who is a thinker changes her position. Concealing at first her conscientious scruples against war, in order to give the approval her lover expects, she afterwards gains her own independent point of view and stands firmly by her own convictions.

TRADE UNIONS SUED.

The Carman Manufacturing Company of Tacoma, Wash., has asked the superior court to order the Upholsterers' Union and the Timber Workers' Union to pay it $20,000. These unions are charged with taking advantage of wartime conditions to secure the employment of union labor. The company is aggrieved at this attempt to standardize working conditions.

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German Socialist Minority Outdoes Majority in Premature Peace Moves

By Wallace English Walling
Of the American Alliance for Labor and Democracy.

In answer to President Wilson's peace terms of January 14th and the peace terms of the Entente Socialists passed at London on February 22d, both the German Socialist parties have reaffirmed their position as laid before the Stockholm Conference Committee last fall.

During each German offensive the majority Socialists, led by Scheidemann, have announced their purpose to secure a German military victory, but on occasions when that general victory seems to be impossible they advocate the settlement of the war by early negotiations, that is, on the basis of Germany's past military victories, the prostration of all her continental enemies.

This attitude is very well illustrated by Hertling's proposal that Belgium shall be used as a "pawn," which is in entire accord with Scheidemann's statement that Germany should clear out of that country. These concessions on the west front have no value or interest, as they are to be compensated for by leaving all Eastern Europe either in abject political independence or in abject economic dependence upon Germany. Neither does the proposal to reopen the Brest-Litovsk treaty have any value unless German's power and will to dominate is completely overthrown—as President Wilson has so frequently pointed out.

Peace by negotiations is therefore simply a phrase by which Germany proposes to "sugar" her demand for a compromise on the basis of the war map. At the end of the offensive now going on, there is no question that Germany will again begin her appeal to the defeatists and pacifists of the Entente countries inviting them to overthrow their present governments.

A Comparison of Scheidemann's and President Wilson's Peace Terms.

The peace terms of Scheidemann's group, the majority Socialists, were very clearly stated in their Stockholm memorandum. Therefore a comparison with the terms of President Wilson is easy. It will be seen from this comparison that Henderson's statement that Scheidemann accepts the interallied Socialist memorandum (which is almost identical with Wilson's program) is absolutely false.

Scheidemann says he agrees with eleven out of the fourteen points of Wilson's program. Let us see. Five of these points are abstract. Even Hertling claims to agree with these five points, though we know his interpretation and Wilson's are diametrically opposed.

Scheidemann does not pretend to agree on Alsace-Lorraine, Poland or the Italian provinces —three of the most colossal territorial problems of the war. German insistence on continued enslavement of any one of these important territories with their millions of inhabitants would suffice to prolong the war indefinitely.

There remain eight concrete points upon which Scheidemann, taking advantage of Mr. Wilson's liberal and diplomatic phraseology, claims to agree. Again, let us see.

Scheidemann claims to agree on Russia. But there is the Polish problem, involving German and Austrian as well as Russian Poland. Scheidemann does not agree to this independent Poland, though it is the crux of the Russian problem.

Scheidemann has not taken any position as to the expressed desire of the Socialist and democratic forces of the Lithuanian and the Balkan provinces to be united to Russia in a federal republic. Nothing less than this would satisfy

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the peace principles laid down by President Wilson and the Entente Socialists' program.

Scheidemann claims to agree about Belgium. But he is opposed to indemnities, and the President requires complete "restoration"—and by Germany. The same difference arises as to Serbia, Rumania and Northern France.

Scheidemann takes advantage of the President's broad phrases about the future of the subject nationalities of Austria and Turkey. Scheidemann and Wilson both demand autonomy. But Scheidemann demands mere autonomy and his party considers that this is a question for Austria and Turkey to settle. President Wilson takes the very opposite view. He demands "the freest opportunity" and again "an absolutely unmolested opportunity" for "autonomous development." He does not even use the substantive word "autonomy"—and he suggests the "sovereignity" of the Turkish government only for the Turkish portions of Turkey. Nor does he agree that this is an Austrian or a Turkish problem. On the contrary, he had explained at length—in his message to Congress then that five weeks previously—that these territories must be freed from Prussian domination. Moreover, he now specifically demands "economic independence" for certain of the disputed territories—a principle that he would certainly apply generally, as we can see from his repeated discussion of the economic principles of a just settlement.

There remains only the question of the German colonies. Scheidemann has always been a colonialist. Undoubtedly he expects the German colonies to be largely restored, as his party demands. If there is peace in the near future—as Scheidemann contemplates—this means there will have been no revolutionary political change in Germany; and we can be certain that Mr. Wilson's declared principle of protecting the natives' rights will prevent the surrender of a square foot of territory or semi-junker government.

We can be certain then that a careful examination would show that Herr Scheidemann does not agree with a single one of Mr. Wilson's peace principles—Herr Scheidemann to the contrary notwithstanding. And Mr. Wilson's principles are not there for trading purposes. Each one involves the liberty of some great population or the peace of the world. Not one, therefore, can be surrendered. As Mr. Wilson has repeatedly pointed out, there is no room for "any compromise."

Peace Terms of the German Minority Socialists.

There are certainly some differences between the peace programs of the German minority and the German majority. The majority is so fanatically loyal that it is doubtful whether years of entente victories would bring them to accept democratic peace terms unless absolutely compelled to do so.

On the other hand, the program of the minority Socialists gradually takes on democratic elements, and if a series of German defeats begins this fall and continues for a few months further desirable changes may be seen in their program. But at present even the German minority is still two-thirds autocratic and one-third democratic as to its foreign policy and peace program. Indeed the German minority is more active in its efforts to bring about an early peace by negotiation and by the treachery of the Entente Socialists than is the majority.

The reason is obvious. The majority trust to some extent in future military offensives while the minority puts its entire confidence in a peace offensive which aims at the overthrow of all the Entente governments. These governments are accused of the crime of regarding the war, like

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Woodrow Wilson, as a war of democracy against autocracy. Therefore, the German minority Socialists, in every piece of literature they issue, express a confident hope and belief that Henderson, Huysmans, Longuet, Hillquit, Berger and the other leaders of the German International will be able to overthrow their governments and bring an early end to the war—as openly desired by the Kaiser and his ministers.

Thus the majority and the minority and the Kaiser agree absolutely in their desire to destroy the democratic governments of France, Italy, England and the United States.

Nor are the German minority Socialists much more democratic than the majority in their peace ideas. Even more than the majority, they were behind the Stockholm agitation openly supported by the German, Austrian, Hungarian, Turkish and Bulgarian governments to let the German Socialists and the anti-war Socialist minorities in the Entente countries inaugurate a peace agitation in France, Italy, England and America. They are also behind the present Soviet "government" in Russia and are close to the Bolsheviki—though they do not agree with them that there should be any revolution just now in Germany (the only point upon which the western democracies do agree with the Bolsheviki).

Of the nine concrete points in Mr. Wilson's program it is probable that the minority Socialists agree in part as to two, the German colonies and Italian-Austria—though even on these questions radical, if not insoluble, differences remain. They would also give a very insufficient indemnity to Belgium—an indemnity absolutely unacceptable to the Entente (probably they would want the German colonies to count as that indemnity).

On the remaining principles, involving Alsace-Lorraine (where they would have a plebicite arranged to give a German result), Poland, Austria, Turkey and the Balkans—any one of these colossal problems a sufficient cause for refusing a German peace—they are in accord with Scheidemann and opposed to Wilson.

LEATHER WORKERS GAIN.

The National Harness and Saddlery Adjustment Commission has ordered wages increased to 60 cents an hour for leather workers employed on Government contracts. The commission is composed of Major Samuel J. Rosensohn, representing the Secretary of War; Henry Diegel, representing leatherworking and saddlery employers, and William E. Bryan, president of the United Leather Workers' International Union.

The commission notifies employers not to vary from this award, as "investigation has shown that there are many causes for labor turnover, chief among which have been the different rates of wages, inequality of working conditions and excessively long hours, causing a loss of much energy and consequently reduced production."

Charity begins at home, but it is often out to callers.

TEAMSTERS' ROLL JUMPS.

During the month of May the offices of the Brotherhood of Teamsters in Indianapolis, Ind., received per capita tax on 82,749 members. President Tobin says this is the largest per capita tax ever received, although thousands of members have been called to the front. From Truck Drivers' Union No. 25 of Boston over 600 members have enlisted.

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has just ordered another edition of its famous shorthand text-books. These books are always printed and bound in a union shop and carry the label. They are the only high school text-books printed in California that carry the label. They are the mostly highly improved shorthand text-books in existence and should be used in all the public high schools of the State.

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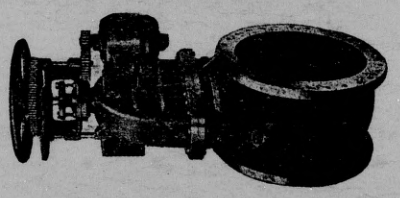

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Justice Wobbled Some

By C. G. Hurst, Woodland

In 18—, Magalia, then called "Dogtown," was a small but not sleepy village of about 300 inhabitants. It had formerly been a lively mining town, but for some years had been on the decline. Its judicial machinery, however, was intact.

A thrifty Township Justice, a busybody of a Constable who knew "a durned sight of law," to use his own words, two enterprising but unlicensed local pettifoggers, and a litigious spirit, generally, in the district, combined to make "Court Day" as common as week-day and much more exciting.

At that time I comprised the entire faculty of a near-by district school. I had been reading law between times for several years, and while the little learning acquired thereby was not enough in itself to be a dangerous thing, yet my interest in legal procedure and an airy ambition to let people hear me talk, sometimes led me where angels, if wise, would not have appeared by proxy or not at all.

Gets Into Game.

Soon I found myself in the game, and frequently, on Saturdays and during vacations, was engaged in cases before the Justice, sometimes collaborating with one of the local professional outlaws against the other, or acting alone against one or both of them.

Lecky Skelton sued Dave Snark, (so I'll call them), in the local court, to recover $140, alleged in the complaint to be due "upon a contract for the direct payment of money." Mr. Guiley, one of the said local, legal tallow-tins, appeared for plaintiff, and I assumed, or presumed, to represent the defendant.

Hold Court in Saloon.

Court was held as usual in "Old Arkansaw's" saloon, and a goodly, if not godly, crowd was in attendance. The evidence of plaintiff showed a consideration paid, for which the defendant had promised to furnish a certain amount of lumber, and that he had not done it.

On these facts I moved the Court for dismissal on the ground of variance.

His Honor seemed duly impressed, and curtly told Mr. Guiley, who was vociferously trying to get the Court's attention, to take his seat.

"Put yer motion in writin'," said the Judge to me.

This I proceeded to do, not omitting the necessary "whereuntos" and "aforesaids" and other verbal indicia of familiarity with the legal dialect.

"Hold up yer hand and be sworn," said the Court when I had finished.

"Why, Your Honor," I stammered, "I don't want to swear to the motion."

"All right," the Judge responded; "Dave's the

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proper one to do that. Hold up yer right hand, Dave."

Dave complied.

"D'ye solemnly swear that the facks set forth in that motion are true?"

"Yep," said Dave with decision.

"Motion's overruled," said the Judge before Dave had time to get his hand down.

Motions Come Fast.

The shock to my solar plexus and its environs was in proportion to the unexpectedness of the ruling; and I nearly took the count before being able to go on. A motion for continuance on the ground of surprise was then made and denied. Motion to make plaintiff elect as to cash or lumber; motion for change of venue; motion for bill of particulars, and a few other miscellaneous motions were made with the same success, and late in the afternoon the work of taking testimony was resumed.

About this time I experienced a nose-bleed, the result of emotional or other internal pressure, and the Court adjourned to give a chance to try the cold-water cure. While I was at the pump outside the Constable handed me a note from the Chancellor. It read:

"I overruled your motion, because if I hadn't, Skelton would of took an appeal, and if Dave knows what's good for him he don't want to go to Oroville. He's mighty unpopular there."

The Justice took the case under advisement, but told me the same evening, as we rode to Chico together, that he'd have to give judgment for the plaintiff.

Judge Reverses Himself.

We stayed all night at Chico, and the next day I hunted up the Assistant District Attorney, stated my grievance to him and got his promise to instruct the Justice of the Peace as to his duty in the case. This was effected; and on the way home that evening the learned jurist told me that, on the advice of the District Attorney's office, he would dismiss the case and give the defendant judgment for costs.

A week later I learned that judgment had been entered for the plaintiff for $140 and costs, and that the defendant, having perhaps lost confidence in his counsel by this time, had paid the judgment in full and gone on record as saying that he "didn't want no appeal"; that he was "tired of all this dum foolishness and didn't 'low he'd put up any more money jist to let the lawyers have their day in Court."

He appears to have been a man of his word, in this instance, at least. He never thereafter put up any money for me, and by oversight I had failed to collect in advance. However, the transient glory enjoyed while believing myself victor was worth something towards a fee, and the reminiscence is worth the balance.

The strangest thing about this story is that it is strictly true.

One of the hardest things some people have to understand is the difference between affluence and influence.

Hope shoots a man upwards, but disappointment is a safety device that lets him down easy.

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America At War

By J. Crawford Vaughan

[Editor's Note:—The Hon. Crawford Vaughan was formerly prime minister of South Australia, and is still a member of its Legislative Assembly. He is now Australia's special representative in the United States, where he has spent considerable time lecturing and visiting various camps and industrial centers.]

Admiration, deep profound admiration, moves me when I think of America at war. For three months I have journeyed up and down this vast republic, and have felt the pulses of that mighty national force which is America. I have addressed audiences from San Diego in Southern California to Fork River on the Atlantic; from Sioux Falls, South Dakota, in the north, to Tulsa, Oklahoma, in the south. I have spoken in labor temples, shipyards, factories, legislative halls, chambers of commerce, churches, before white men and dark men, to gatherings of women and children. But whether it be in the far West or along the Mississippi, in the democratic South or republican New England, there is but one America—true to the ideals of Washington and the spirit of the Declaration of Independence. "The world must be made safe for democracy"—that slogan was a call to arms which rallied to the colors all those cosmopolitan elements.

The resolution embodied in the phrase is not born of the hour; it is the heritage of the past. For four years Lincoln fought against the South because the Nation could not live half slave and half free. Had the slave-owning South been content to keep slavery within its legally defined borders, that struggle might perhaps have been avoided. But slavery had to expand or perish.

Autocracy Must Expand or Die.

Autocracy, like slavery, has proved that it cannot be confined within any territorial limits. It sought to expand, and thereby menaced the freedom of the democracies of the world. President Wilson's whole policy has been framed on the assumption that if Germany wanted autocracy she had a right so to govern herself. But the Kaiser's battle-cry has always been "Germany over all." The issue is, then, quite clear. Either democracy or autocracy must perish from the earth.

I have been a privileged visitor to many of the military cantonments which have sprung up all over the States, and have spoken to the men. The thermometer was twenty below zero when I motored across from Boston to Camp Devens. The big Y. M. C. A. auditorium quickly filled with the younger sons of the Republic, who seemed anxious to hear the message from Australia. These clean-limbed Americans think the world of the Anzacs. The Australians come nearer perhaps to them than any others. These soldiers like to be told that Australia is the only country which has adopted the principles of the American constitution.

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land and on sea are the stern decrees of beerless Washington. Already military training has stiffened the backbone of the way-back sons of the soil; the slouching mountaineer of Kentucky or Tennessee has acquired a brisk step and upright carriage; the loose-jointed cowboy of Wyoming has rubbed shoulders with the pampered youth from Long Island, and each is better for the experience. The psychological, political and economical effect of this commingling of the East and the West, the North and the South, with all the interchange of ideas that it involves, together with the impressions of other lands which fighting abroad must leave behind, will be far-reaching.

Munitions and Food.

America's output of rifles is now approximately sufficient to equip three army divisions every week. Machine guns and ordnance are being turned out in ever-increasing quantity. Enormous quantities of munitions and clothing are now being manufactured, and food-product has been greatly stimulated by the organization of labor for the farms.

It is impossible to tell in a word or two the inspiring story of the co-operation of American women in war activities. A few girls are now to be found behind the plow, thousands are in munitions plants, and an increasing number are to be found on the tramways, working elevators, etc. American women will take up their cross as heroically as have their British and French sisters.

In my talks throughout twenty-four States of the American Union, I enjoyed the co-operation and personal help of Mr. Samuel Gompers and the American Federation of Labor. Never in any conflict was the Nation so united, so implacably resolved to stand steadfast in the faith. Workers are sternly setting their faces against any attempt to strike. Mr. Gompers stands behind President Wilson and next to the President is the most potent figure in American public life today. It is fortunate not for America only, but for the world, that the forces of labor in America should at this hour be in the hands of this sturdy, broad-visioned American. Mr. Gompers has been at the labor helm in this country for thirty-five years, and has won the implicit confidence, almost veneration, of the American labor world. He is too big in his idealism to allow class interests to dominate national interests, and too clear in vision not to see that the triumph of Prussian militarism means the downfall of democracy the world over. Picture him with his lion-like head set on massive shoulders and sturdy body, with face stern in moments of decision, but genial and full of light and humor when the cares of the hour are cast aside; a figure, although only five and a half feet in height, full of a dignity which emphasizes the weight of the opinion which he expresses. Gompers is an old man in years, but not in outlook. I take my hat off not only to Samuel Gompers, but to the loyal labor men of America who have stood so splendidly by him.

President Wilson's Fiery Trial.

Through the murk and smoke of conflict the figure of President Wilson looms powerful and imposing, not simply because of Mr. Wilson's undeniable gifts of statesmanship, but because the President, during the term of his office, enjoys all the powers of a king and of a prime minister combined. We live too close to our own times to measure with exactitude the greatness or deficiencies of the men into whose keeping is placed the tremendous responsibility of piloting our civilization safely through the fiercest storm mankind has ever known. Theirs is the fiery trial. Not as weary Titans staggering under the too vast orb of their fate must the issue be faced, but as the impassioned champions of freedom carrying the flaming sword to victory. Certainly nothing better, nothing more in tune with the aspirations of democracy has been said than by President Wilson at Baltimore:

"Force, force to the utmost, force without stint or limit, the righteous and triumphant force which shall make right the law of the world, and cast every selfish dominion down in the dust."

Upon America's interpretation of that message into immediate and efficient action the fate of the world depends.

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History repeats itself; and the struggles of today to expose the evils of human autocracy are making past heroic deeds which scorned "the miserable aims that end in self" more than ordinarily vivid. Hence Dean Farrar's story, "Darkness and Dawn," dealing with the reign of the Emperor Nero, is enhanced in interest. In it he contrasts the excesses and futility of fickle human ambitions, with the sweet peace, and steadfastness, which characterized the deeds of the early Christians, and ends the book with the following lucid survey of the inevitable struggle between the true ideals and the false.

"Paganism again and again," he says, "wrestled with Christianity, and put forth all its forces. It strove to rival the new faith by ritual splendor and orgiastic rites, and the 'extreme sensuality of superstition.' It strove to put forth Pythagoras, or Socrates, or Apollonius of Tyana as parallels to Christ; and Stoicism and Neoplatonism as substitutes for the truths of the gospel. It kindled its expiring lamps with 'sparks from the incorruptible fountain of wisdom,' and turned its back on the Sun of Righteousness, from which they were derived. It tried all that sneers and banter could do in the writings of the Pseudo-Lucian, and all the power and passion of argument in the books of Porphyry, Hierocles, and Celsus. Waging deadly war against all who called themselves Christians, it tried to burn them at its stakes, to crucify them on its countless gibbets, to devour them by its herds of wild beasts, at least to daunt them by its terrible tortures. On every field Christians met and conquered them with the two sacred and invincible weapons of martyrdom and innocence.

"The church escaped from and soared out of their reach on 'the two great wings of pureness and kindness,' and so 'by the unresistible might of weakness shook the world.' The Christians refuted the arguments against them; they turned the edge of the jeers; they exposed the feebleness of the philosophers who wrote to denounce them. Meekly enduring the tortures devised against them 'they stood safe' (as said by their martyr Cyprian); 'stronger than their conquerors, the beaten and lacerated members conquered the beating and lacerating hooks.' These obscure sectaries—barbarians, Orientals, Jews, slaves, artisans—fought against the indignant world, and won. And when they had won, and in proportion as they had won, they ennobled and purified the world. Wrestling with the pagan curse of corruption, they made pure the homes, and the conversation, and the amusements, and the literature, and the inmost hearts of all who faithfully accepted the truths they preached.

"Wrestling with the curse of cruelty they suppressed infanticide, they sanctified compassion, they put down the cruel and ghastly scenes of human slaughter in the amphitheatre, they made the wretched, and the sick, and the outcast their especial care, 'they encircled the brow of sorrow with the aureole of sanctity.' Wrestling with the curses of slavery and selfish exclusiveness they taught the inalienable rights of humanity, they confronted tyranny, they inspired nations with the spirit of liberty, they flung over the oppressed a shield of adamant, they taught that all men are the children of God. Intellectually, socially, politically, in national life and in individual life, in art and in literature, Christianity has inspired all that the world has seen of the best and noblest, and still offers to . . . every man the purest hope, the divinest comfort, the loftiest aspirations. To talk of 'the crimes of Christianity' is a preposterous paradox. There is not one evil thought that can be thought, not one evil deed that can be done, which is not utterly alien from its true spirit. Crimes, indeed, without number have been committed in its name. Kings, and priests, and peoples have misinterpreted its documents, forged its commissions, falsified the image and superscription of its current coins, while 'swarms of vile creatures have made it an inexhaustible prey.' But it has lived through all and has suffered that which would have been ten-fold death to aught less than Divine. And even yet, after nearly nineteen centuries have sped since its dawn began, and its Sun of Righteousness arose with healing in His wings, this faith alone sets forth before mankind the divine example of a perfect and sinless man, and alone offers the sure promises of pardon and of peace. All the best wisdom of the world lies in the brief Book of its New Covenant, and all the hopes of the world lie centered in the faithful acceptance of its law and of its life."

A good conversationalist is one who talks about things in which his listeners are interested.

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The Custodian Service is one of the poorest paid of any under the Government. Its employees clean, repair, operate and care for the beautiful public buildings that the Government has scattered throughout the whole country. These men and women are under the direct supervision of the Treasury Department and despite the enormous sums of money in which that department deals and the bountiful appropriations made for the construction of the public buildings, the employees who care for the buildings are unable to eke out an existence on the pitiful salaries paid them.

The salaries in the Custodian Service range from $50 to $65 a month. The janitors are paid $55, $60 and $65 while the laborers and assistant janitors get $50 and $55 a month. The charwomen receive only a meager $25 a month.

The hours of labor for the male employees are supposed to be eight hours a day, but they are frequently required to work nine or ten or twelve hours, especially if some repair work has to be done. For this extra time they get no extra pay. Despite the statements from some departments of the Government that women will get equal pay with men for equal work, the women are required to work five or six hours a day, considerably more than half the eight hours required of men, for less than half the pay. The scrubbing which these women do on their hands and knees is denominated as "light work."

With few exceptions the janitors and assistants, laborers, firemen, etc., are required to work on Sundays and legal holidays and get no added pay for this, as do all other types of employees. In winter in addition to their regular work of cleaning and looking after the buildings, fires, furnaces, etc., they are obliged to keep the sidewalks and steps clear of snow and ice, for no extra pay despite the extra hours required. All this for the magnificent salary of $50 or $65 a month, about $2.00 a day or less on the average.

The laborers working on the streets receive at least 40 per cent more than the men employed in the Custodian Service of the U. S. Treasury Department. The janitors in the public schools of many cities receive from $75 to $100 a month, with not as much work and responsibility as the janitors in the Federal buildings. In the county court house in one city where a comparison is made there are employed one janitor at $100 a month, two at $87.50 a month, and one at $91.66 a month. These have no ice or snow to shovel, as additional labor is employed for this purpose.

One janitor recites his experience as follows: "I passed the Civil Service examination for the position of janitor standing first on the list and I was appointed as janitor of the Federal building in my city in 1910. After holding the position for seven years, I am informed that my title has been changed to that of janitor laborer. I was not aware of any change in the title of my position until I was in Washington in February last. At that time I was called to the Treasury Department in reference to other matters and when I stated that I was the janitor of the Federal building in my city, I was informed that there was no janitor in that building. I was told upon protesting that there was and I was he, that my title had been changed. I objected against this act of demoting me and I was informed that I had taken the oath of office as janitor laborer. This I denied whereupon a card with the oath and my signature on it was produced. Underneath the signature was typewritten the words 'Janitor-Laborer.' That was my signature, but the words 'janitor-laborer' had not been on the paper when I signed it, having been added since. I pro-

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tested against this demotion after having filled satisfactorily for seven years a position secured through a Civil Service examination."

Continuing, this janitor says: "I was told that this action was done for the purpose of standardizing positions, so that there would be janitors in only first-class cities and janitor-laborers in other cities. Asking what was a first-class city, I was informed that it was one with over 100,000 population. My city has over 140,000 and is not in the first-class grade. This could not be explained. I am not the only janitor who has been dealt with in this way; there are many others. I claim that this was not for the purpose of standardizing positions but for the purpose of reducing wages—to prevent myself and others like me from getting sufficient wages to live on, as the janitors in first-class cities are paid a little bit more than we are.

"I was told also that they expected to have a bill passed to pay janitors in first-class cities $900 a year and in other cities $720 a year, so that my salary under the proposed bill would be only $60 a month as I am only a janitor-laborer and despite facts to the contrary my city is not a first-class city. Now, what do you think of such treatment of an American citizen by his own Government? This same office has authority to fix salaries as they wish and there is no need for the proposed bill except to hold down salaries.

"I have charge of the laboring force in the building and have charge of the elevators and the electric lighting and the heating system. If any repairs are needed, I am supposed to make them, and all this in addition to my regular work of cleaning. Very often I have been obliged to do repair work for 10 to 12 hours a day and frequently called out of my home at night to repair the electric lights. And yet they try to keep our salaries at the very lowest ebb. One of our men here unfortunately lost his wife by death very suddenly. His pay was $50 a month and out of it he was not able to save anything. When death came into his family it found him totally unprepared for such an event. He had been saving a few pennies at a time toward buying himself a suit of clothes probably he had saved $10, and this was all the money he had and only for the kindness of the undertaker, who knowing he worked for the Government—promised to wait for his money until such time as he could pay, or the woman would have been buried at the public expense.

"Our living expenses have increased at least 50 per cent in the last four years and yet our salaries are the same that was paid 20 years ago, the only increase in that time was the 10 per cent given last year. I have interviewed the superintendents of twenty-one mills in this city and find that some pay the men that clean the mills $15 a week, while others pay $16.50 and a few $18 a week. In several machine shops I found that the average paid for laborers was $3.50 a day and I interviewed some fifteen shops. This city has twenty-four schools employing an average of three janitors to a school at rates of $87.50 to $85 a month. In the two municipal buildings the janitor gets $100 a month, the assistant $91.66 a month and two others at $87.50 a month. The street sweepers get $2.60 a day for eight hours work; the ashcart men get $3 a day for eight hours work; the drivers of the ashcarts get $3.25 for eight hours work."

This janitor concludes his statement with: "I have other data that I could furnish you but I think that the above should prove to anyone that the wages paid to the men in the Custodian Service are far too small to permit of them having a decent living, not saying anything about the support of their families, and we all have families to care for. It seems to me that the men higher up should be ashamed to ask the men to work for such a mere pittance."

INSTALL BIG CLASS.

Boilermakers', Iron Ship Builders' and Helpers' Union, Local No. 6, last meeting installed a class of 600 new members. This is the largest class to be enrolled in the union since its organization and means that all plants about San Francisco bay are now on a 100 per cent union basis.

The union, at its last meeting, voted to subscribe to $100 worth of tickets for the benefit entertainment for the Visitacion Valley car wreck victims and to also march to the Exposition Auditorium in a body.

In peace the union label aims to be ever alert, ever accomplishing results. In defensive warfare it is the most powerful weapon in the arsenal of labor, and when the battle is on it attacks the enemy in his rear, captures his base of supplies, and brings victory to the standard of unionism. It is the one and only fetich of the labor movement, an idolatry revealing the purest of hearts and the sanest of minds.

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SPARGO FINDS BUT LITTLE PACIFISM

"The present labor difficulties in England and the Socialist congress resolutions in France should not be interpreted in America as indicating that there is any material amount of pacifism or defeatism on this side of the Atlantic. Winning the war is before everything else, and the discordant note to the contrary in either country comes from a group so small as to be negligible," says John Spargo in an interview cabled to the New York "Times" from Paris and copyrighted by that newspaper. Mr. Spargo is a member of a loyal Socialist mission now in France. The mission spent three weeks in England.

"In England not one local labor union has even considered the adoption of an anti-war resolution. No candidate coming up in the general parliamentary election in England who was lukewarm in support of the war can have labor backing."

"I have not found either in England or France that which I was very much afraid I would find when I left America," he said. When I arrived in England a month ago I was apprehensive of finding a growing sentiment of pacifism and of defeatism. I found nothing of the sort.

"Whatever may be the trouble with England now it is not lack of determination to win the war.

"We left England convinced that there was no material amount of defeatism or pacifism there. What there is of anti-war sentiment is confined to the Independent Labor party of Snowden and Ramsay MacDonald, and to the British Socialist party.

"The Snowden group has a membership of 35,000. The British Socialist party has a membership of 10,000. These two groups in their attitude toward the war correspond to the Hillquit and Berger Socialists in America. Both together they produce a total of fewer than 50,000, as against more than 3,000,000 members of the English Labor party absolutely determined to win the war.

"The Independent Labor party is not dominated by workingmen, but by astute politicians, whom the French would call 'careerists,' and by non-resident Quakers.

"These people are wealthy and are spending enough money to enable them to kick up a great racket. Furthermore, the tail has succeeded in wagging the dog to this extent—Snowden's group, simply by greater earlier activity, has succeeded in naming 75 per cent of the candidates of the whole Labor party coming up for election. That is only another way of saying that the Labor party is going to be defeated because its members will not vote for candidates forced upon them.

"A general election must come before January, I think it will come in November. If sentiment then is as it is now, not five constituencies in the whole country will send to Parliament men opposed to war or lukewarm in support of it. That is the estimate I got from all groups.

"If Lloyd George should join the eight Labor Ministers of his government in an address to the people, placing the winning of the war as the paramount necessity and adding a promise of some comprehensive program of domestic improvements, he would sweep the country as it was never swept before.

"Concerning France, also, you may report to the American people that there is no real sentiment of defeatism or pacifism, according to what I have seen and heard."

SAYS LABOR IS PROPERTY.

The Massachusetts State Constitutional Convention has refused to reconsider its rejection of the following:

"The labor of a human being shall not be deemed to be a commodity or article of commerce. And the legislature shall not pass a law nor the courts construe any law of the commonwealth contrary to this declaration."

The convention also rejected a resolution regulating the issuance of injunctions in labor disputes.

The committee on the bill of rights rejected a resolution "to prevent the granting of special privileges and creating class distinctions among the people of the commonwealth."

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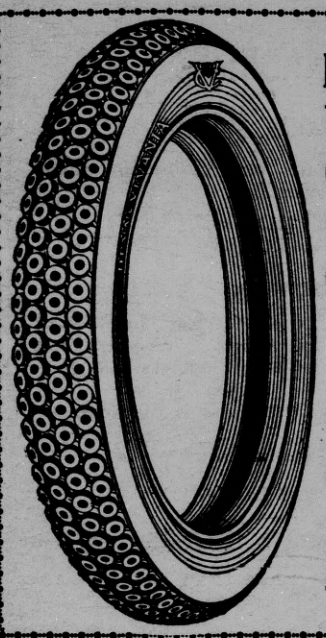
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California Wonder Region

By R. F. Wilson

The Pinnacles, a picturesque region of granite and basalt hills and remarkable geologic formations, are situated in San Benito County, California, and for many years have been designated as Vancouver's Pinnacles, in honor of Captain George Vancouver, the English explorer. Through his mention of them, they have the distinction of being the first of California's natural wonders of which a description was published to the world.

In the year 1790, while Captain Vancouver, with his sloop-of-war, the "Discovery," and its armed tender, the "Chasm," lay at anchor in the bay of Monterey, he accepted the invitation of some Spanish gentlemen to accompany them on a trip into this rugged region. He made due note of his experience in his daily diary, published in London in 1798, under the title "Vancouver's Voyages and Discoveries," in the following graphic language:

"I was on Wednesday permitted to join a party to the valley through which the Monterey (Salinas) River flows and there beheld the most wonderful mountain I have ever before seen. The top of this mountain resembled a sumptuous edifice fallen into decay, the roof of which seemed to be supported by large columns rising with most mathematical precision. Between these columns were openings leading into the interior of the supposed building, and the whole had a most pleasing appearance of human ingenuity and skill, but since the inhabitants of this region are of a very low and humble origin, its being a work of Nature cannot be questioned."

Vancouver undoubtedly first saw this natural wonder from the western side of the Salinas Valley at a distance of ten or fifteen miles, and from this viewpoint its resemblance to a castle is marked.

There are two ways of reaching the Pinnacles from the railroad. One is from Soledad on Southern Pacific "Coast Line" between San Francisco and Los Angeles, by auto stage eleven miles directly east of the station, entering the Pinnacles by the western gateway. The other is from Hollister, also on Southern Pacific "Coast Line," by auto stage thirty-seven miles south, through Tres Pinos, entering the Pinnacles from the north.

To Schuyler C. Hain of Tres Pinos, widely known as the "Poet of the Pinnacles," the writer is indebted for much assistance.

The region consists of about six square miles of wild country covered with picturesque masses that have been sculptured by erosion from some rock whose character and geologic age have not been ascertained. These rocks are of various sizes and of an innumerable variety of shapes, ranging from a few yards in height to hundreds of feet, their sides presenting no foothold for man's ascent, and upon their spired and dome-like tops none but winged creatures have ever rested.

On January 16, 1908, President Theodore Roosevelt proclaimed 2080 acres of this territory the Pinnacles National Monument, a forest reserve of 1400 additional acres surrounding it and a State law protecting all game in this region.

Within the bounds of the National Monument are two water courses, the Bear and the Chalone creeks, that have cut through this great lava formation, slowly forming chasms of wonderful charm. In portions of these high and narrow gorges, great masses of boulders have fallen, thousands of tons in weight and some 100 to 150 feet in diameter, forming a natural ceiling and creating underground chambers, weird and winding passages and enchanting halls. It is possible to proceed entirely through each chasm by going under, over and around these boulders, passing up by the light of candles through chimney-like orifices, climbing by natural, though rugged stairs

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and occasionally by a ladder through narrow upward-leading passages, bridged above with rocks of immense sizes.

On the right of the northern chasm the great mass of the Palisades looms up, 1500 feet of sheer cliff, 4000 feet in length and with a shelf extending along its face some 200 feet below the castellated top. In midwinter many waterfalls adorn the rugged frontal precipice. A trail follows the ledge and from this vantage point a fine view is had of the cliffs, monoliths and castle-like peaks that are spread around beneath.

To the left, poised above the gorge, towers the monolithic mass of La Machete, a knife-edged rock 700 feet in height and 1000 feet in length.

Passing out from the narrow gorge we enter a cool and tree-shaded pocket, deep down and surrounded by steep and overhanging cliffs. Here romance and the stirring history of the early settlement days of the rich surrounding valleys of Salinas, San Juan and San Benito enter our description. Beneath the ample shelter of a low and lengthy ledge are pointed out the stabling quarters of the horses belonging to the outlaw Tiburcio Vasquez and his unruly band, who frequently retired to these fastnesses and safely lurked for days in the caves that pierce the mountainside.

The path winds upward from this shaded nook, which today is a favorite picnic ground, a trail thence to the right leading through a narrow cleft and by means of a natural stairway of rocks entering the Bridal Chamber, where a tiny waterfall from the cliff high above baptizes the ferns and shrubs with a refreshing moisture.

Directly to the south, in a serrated and fantastic semi-circle, lies the great 500-acre amphitheatre named after David Starr Jordan—Jordan's Amphitheatre. Nearby are the flower-bedecked and grassy slopes reaching toward Howitzer Mountain and within view are the Turtle, the Lizard, the Castle, La Ventanas (the windows) and other strange monoliths.

In the southern gorge, however, that reached through Bear Gulch, are the largest caverns of the entire Pinnacles region, one being 60 by 120 feet, its roof formed of a single massive boulder which extends 200 feet above and is surmounted by a beautiful pine tree. The completion of the contemplated auto road through this gorge will add much to the convenience and enjoyment of visitors.

Between and connecting these two groups, which are nearly two miles apart, lies a great body of volcanic tufa, in places reaching 2000 feet above the bed of the stream. The tops of these rocks are of all varieties of shapes, and in their coloring Nature has been most lavish with her brush.

The approach to the Pinnacles from the Hollister-Tres Pinos side is through the Palisade Canyon, which has a narrow meadow floor covered with pine, oak and shade trees, particularly attractive to camping and picnic parties. The auto road has not been extended farther than within a half-mile of the entrance to the cave passage, and it will be necessary for the Government under its national monuments appropriation to extend this and other roads in the region to enable tourists to pass through from the east to the west and vice versa.

The auto-stage fare from Soledad to the Pinnacles and return is $5 for from one to three passengers. There are no accommodations at present in the Pinnacles, and it is necessary to provide lunch when going in. At Soledad good rooms and meals can be had at the Head Inn.

From Hollister the auto-stage round trip fare is $2.50 each to Cook, about thirty miles. By communicating with John Hain, Jr., Cook Postoffice, Cal., he will meet you with a team or auto, and from there will take in to the Pinnacles parties of four or five and guide them, for the total charge of $5 per day, furnishing meals and also tents for camping if desired, at reasonable rates.

Ladies who make this trip should wear short skirts, climbing clothes and heavy shoes.

Constance and faithfulness mean something else beside doing what is easiest and pleasantest to ourselves. They mean renouncing whatever is opposed to the reliance others have on us.—Anon.

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"My stay in Sacramento on this occasion was limited to a few hours," J. D. Borthwick wrote of California in the '50s. "I went to a large hotel, which was also the great staging-house, and here I snoozed till about five o'clock, when, it being still quite dark, the whole house woke up into active life. About a hundred of us breakfasted by candlelight, and, going out . . . while day was just dawning, we found, turned out in front of the hotel, about four-and-twenty four-horse coaches, all bound for different places in the mines. The street was completely blocked up with them, and crowds of men were taking their seats.

"The coaches were of various kinds. Some were light spring wagons—mere oblong boxes, with four or five seats placed across them; others were of the same build, but better finished, and covered by an awning; and there were also numbers of regular American stage-coaches, huge high-hung things which carry nine inside upon three seats, the middle one of which is between the two doors.

"The place which I had intended should be the scene of my first mining exploits, was a village rejoicing in the . . . appellation of Hangtown, designated, however, in official documents as Placerville. . . . I soon found the stage for that place—it happened to be one of the oblong boxes—and, pitching in my roll of blankets, I took my seat . . . that I might the more fully enjoy the scene around me. And a scene it was, such as few parts of the world can now show, and which would have gladdened the hearts of those who mourn over the degeneracy of the present age, and sigh for the good old days of stage-coaches.

"Here, certainly, the genuine old mail-coach, the guard with his tin horn, and the jolly old coachman with his red face, were not to be found; but the horses were as good as ever galloped with Her Majesty's mail. The teams were all headed the same way and with their stages, four or five abreast, occupied the whole of the wide street for a distance of sixty or seventy yards. The horses were restive and pawing, and snorting, and kicking; and passengers were trying to navigate to their proper stages through the labyrinth of wheels and horses, and frequently climbing over half a dozen wagons to shorten their journey. Grooms were standing at the leaders' heads, trying to keep them quiet. . . . In the intervals . . . the drivers were shouting to the crowds of passengers who loitered about the front of the able to sit than to stand, men like to enjoy their hotel; for there, as elsewhere, people will wait till the last minute; and though it is more comfort-freedom as long as possible, before resigning all control over their motions, and charging with their precious persons a coach or a train, on full cock, and ready to go off, and shoot them out upon some remote part of creation.

"At last the solid mass of four-horse coaches began to dissolve. The drivers gathered up their reins and settled themselves down in their seats; . . . the grooms cleared out as best they could; the passengers shouted and hurrahed; the teams in front set off at a gallop; the rest followed them as soon as they got room to start, and chevied them up the street, all in a body, for about half a mile, when, as soon as we got out of town, we spread out in all directions to every point of a semi-circle, and in a few minutes I found myself one of a small isolated community, with which four splendid horses were galloping over the plains like mad."

Life is made up not of great sacrifices or duties but of little things, in which smiles and kindness, and small obligations, given habitually, are what win and preserve the heart and secure comfort.—Sir Humphry Davy.

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COMMERCE THROUGH GOLDEN GATE

For many years there has been a strenuous conflict between the hydraulic gold miners in the gold placer territory tributary to Sacramento River and the farmers and fruit ranchers of the lower lands. Hydraulic mining washes down great quantities of silt and debris, to the detriment of the agricultural lands. The movement of mining debris has been under study for some years by the United States Geological Survey, Department of the Interior, and a notable contribution to geological literature in its broadest sense has now been made by Grove Karl Gilbert in a report entitled "Hydraulic Mining Debris in the Sierra Nevada," issued by the Geological Survey as Professional Paper 105.

The changes in the Sierra Nevada and the Great Valley of California brought about by the activities of white men date practically from the discovery of gold in 1848, but the mining-debris question first came up in 1862, when a great flood washed so large a quantity of material into the lower reaches of the Sierra rivers and into the rivers of the Great Valley that the holders of riparian lands became alarmed. Protest, litigation, and injunctions followed whereby the miners were restrained from casting their tailings into the streams. In connection with the litigation the subject was elaborately discussed, and impartial and valuable investigations and reports were made by a series of officials and commissions at the instance of the National and State governments.

Under licenses finally granted by the California Debris Commission only a small amount of hydraulic mining could be carried on, and in 1904 the California Miners' Association adopted a memorial which was forwarded to the President of the United States, requesting that a particular study be made of those parts of the Sacramento and San Joaquin valleys that are affected by the detritus from torrential streams. The commission asked that the most favorable sites for reservoirs be considered, whereby destructive floods might be averted and the waters stored and utilized for the benefit of agriculture, mining, and other industries, and that suitable tracts of waste lands be selected where the detritus from torrential streams might be deposited, reclaiming the lands and at the same time removing from such streams their burden of detritus.

The request was referred to the Director of the United States Geological Survey. The investigation then begun by Mr. Gilbert was planned to include a field study of the natural phenomena and a laboratory study of the laws of transportation of detritus by running water. The results of the laboratory study were published in the Survey's Professional Paper 86—"The transportation of debris by running water"—and the present report (Professional Paper 105) deals with the geologic and physiographic phases of the problem. Through the interlocking of subjects, matters apparently remote from problems of mining debris are discussed. The paper gives a historic outline of the development of hydraulic mining in the Sierra Nevada, the encroachment of its tailings on valley lands, and its subsequent restriction and regulation.

Mr. Gilbert presents the results of the completed investigation, and concludes that the stress which caused the restriction of hydraulic mining no longer exists. Under conditions to be created by works for the control of floods the capacity of valley rivers for transportation of debris will be increased, so that the mining might be partly resumed without prejudice to any valley interest except navigation. The important interest which now dictates that debris should be controlled is that of the commerce which traverses the Golden Gate. The possibility of resuming mining on a large scale, with storage of debris, lies in co-operation with irrigation and electric-power development for the control of Sierra streams. This report, in which scientific conclusions based on highly technical data are presented in plain and simple terms, serves to illustrate how high a public service can be rendered by the geologist in connection with economic questions of large civic importance.

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Labor Day Parade

Positions in the line of march of the Miscellaneous Division were assigned by lot at the last meeting of the Labor Council, and the same will be found in the minutes of the Council's proceedings published elsewhere in this issue. Wm. T. Bonsor has been appointed as marshal of the division and Joe Cresse aide to the marshal.

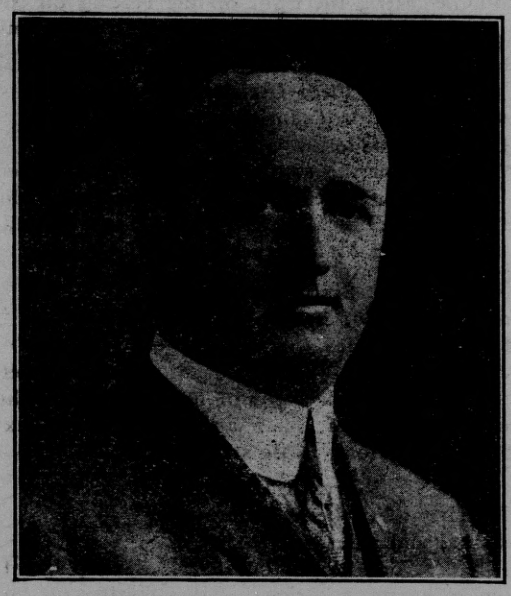
The following have been appointed as aides to Daniel P. Haggerty, marshal of the day: John A. O'Connell, Michael Casey, T. A. Reardon, M. T. Doyle, Emil Muri.

The following compose the guard of honor which is to lead the parade: R. W. Burton, molders; Pierre Flaherty, machinists; John P. McLaughlin, teamsters; Thomas Garrity, bookbinders; Daniel C. Murphy, web pressmen; Edward L. Nolan, bricklayers; Andrew J. Gallagher, auto bus operators; John Kean, stevedores; Thos. G. Riley, office employees; J. J. McTiernan, blacksmiths and helpers.

Formation of Parade.

The parade will start promptly at 10:30 a. m., at the point of formation, Embarcadero and Market streets, ten abreast.

The line of march to be from the Embarcadero at Market, out Market to Van Ness avenue, to McAllister, to Grove, and to disperse at said point.



DANIEL P. HAGGERTY

Grand Marshal

The parade formation is as follows:

First Division.

Iron Trades Council.

Guard of Honor, ten.

The First Division will form on the north line of Market, the union having the right of line resting at the northwest corner of Embarcadero and Market street, and extending north along Embarcadero.

Grand marshal

Pinto's band of twenty-five pieces.

Aides to Grand Marshal, five.

Auto bearing Mayor Rolph and family.

Auto bearing Orator of the Day.

Marshal and aides.

Unions in their order.

Second Division.

Theatrical Federation.

Marshal and aides.

Division will form on the south side of Market street, the union having the right of line resting on the southeast corner of Market and Steuart, and extending south along Steuart street.

Third Division.

Miscellaneous Unions.

Marshal and aides.

Will form on the south side of Market street,

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Dress and Work Gloves

Neckwear - Suspenders

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the union having the right of line resting on the southeast corner of Spear and Market, and extending south along Spear street.

Fourth Division.

Allied Printing Trades Council.

Marshal and aides.

Will form on the north side of Market street, the union having the right of line resting on the northwest corner of California and Drumm, and extending north on Drumm street.

Fifth Division.

Joint Council of Teamsters.

Marshal and aides.

Will form on the south side of Market street, the union having the right of line resting on the southeast corner of Main and Market, and extending south along Main street.

Sixth Division.

Joint Council of Brewery Workers.

Marshal and aides.

Will form on the south side of Market street, the union having the right of line resting on the southeast corner of Beale and Market, and extending south along Beale street.

Seventh Division.

Waterfront Workers' Federation.

Marshal and aides.

Will form on the north side of Market street, the union having the right of line resting on the northwest corner of Pine and Davis, and extending north along Davis street.

The Grand Marshal and aides will swing out of line at the City Hall on Van Ness avenue, as will the Mayor and Orator of the Day, from whence they will review the parade.

The Guard of Honor will proceed to Grove and Polk streets, and will see to it that the marchers will disperse orderly, so that there will be no blockade when the unions are disbanding.

Division Marshals will keep in mind the fact that they must see to it that the unions in their respective divisions are in their proper places not later than 10:15 a. m., and that they be ready to march at that time, and that they proceed without gaps to the end of the line of march.

DEATH CALLS JOHN P. McGINLEY.

John P. McGinley, general organizer of Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America, passed away Thursday, August 22d, at St. Luke's Hospital after a lingering illness due to heart trouble. He was born in Bureau, Illinois, his parents being of Scotch extraction and still living in Boston. He was forty-one years old and leaves a widow and a ten-year-old son, who both were with him to the end. As an organizer of the International Union he was considered one of the best, and was noted as a skilled mediator and campaigner. For more than a year he had charge of the affairs of the California Trades Union Liberty League and made preparations to wage an intelligent and vigorous campaign against prohibition at the coming election. He is deeply mourned by tens of thousands of fellow workers for whose benefit he devoted his talents. The funeral was held from Kenny's undertaking parlors, and the body was taken to Cypress Lawn Cemetery for cremation. Beautiful floral tributes were presented, from local unions of San Francisco and Oakland and the general executive board of the International Union, and from the California Trades Union Liberty League. Representatives of aforementioned bodies, as well as of the San Francisco and Oakland Central Labor Councils, paid their last respects to the memory of John P. McGinley by attending the funeral. Mr. A. B. Hassel of Los Angeles, an executive board member of the International Union, was also present and will take up most of the work left unfinished by the deceased.

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Health Insurance—Labor's Attitude

There has been some doubt as to the attitude of the American Federation of Labor towards health insurance. Below we are giving an exact copy of pages 284 and 285 of the Official Daily Report of the Proceedings on the 18th day of June, 1918, at the annual meeting of the Federation at St. Paul. It will be seen from this that the convention rejected Resolution No. 135 designed to indorse a national system of social insurance, and adopted No. 101 ordering an investigation of the campaign which for two years has been carried on in this country for social health insurance. The statements of Mr. Rowell, and perhaps others, to the effect that the St. Paul Convention went on record in favor of health insurance is therefore not borne out by the facts. The Report and Resolutions follow:

Health Insurance—Insurance Against Employment.

"Upon Resolutions No. 101 and No. 135, and the sections of the Executive Council's report under the above caption the committee reported:

"Resolution No. 101—By Delegates John F. Stevens, of the Boston, Mass., Central Labor Union; P. Harry Jennings, of the Massachusetts State Branch; Martin T. Joyce of the United Brotherhood of Electrical Workers:

Whereas, During the past few years great efforts have been made to obtain the approval and support of organized labor to a scheme for Social Health Insurance, promoted by persons and organizations who have no affiliation with the Labor Movement; and

Whereas, Owing to the intensive and costly campaign which the promoters of this scheme have carried on during the past two years, at one time seeking to have this legislation adopted in twenty-eight different states, suspicion has been aroused that this scheme is supported by those who, for years, have sought to disrupt and retard the cause of the workers; and

Whereas, The Executive Council in their report, submitted to this convention, have pointed out the necessity of investigating this matter; and

Whereas, We believe that the best interests of the Trade Union movement demands that an immediate investigation be made of the subject in order that the workers may be authoritatively advised of the benefits or dangers of this scheme and the advisability of supporting or rejecting it; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Executive Council are hereby instructed to make an immediate investigation of this question and to point out its dangers or benefits with their recommendations thereon as soon as possible, and the Executive Council are further instructed to ascertain, if possible, what are the financial resources of the persons and organizations promoting this scheme and what relation they may have with those interests who are opposed to the best interests of the Labor movement; and, be it further

Resolved, That the report of the Executive Council on this subject and their recommendations thereon be printed in the "American Federationist" when completed.

Resolution No. 135.—Introduced by Benjamin Schlessinger, J. Heller, I. Feinberg, Max Gorenstein, Mollie Friedman and Alfred LaPorte, delegates of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

Whereas, The workers are the creative forces of wealth of the Nation and contribute towards its industrial growth and development; and

Whereas, In the absence of proper provisions for caring for the physically incapacitated workers, these in very large numbers yearly become public charges; and

Whereas, It is generally recognized that it is the supreme duty of the Nation to maintain and uplift the physical and economic standard of its

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citizens and to care for such of its workers as become physically unable to earn a livelihood; therefore, be it

Resolved, That this Convention of the American Federation of Labor declares itself in favor of the adoption by the Government of a comprehensive national system of Social Insurance, and instructs its executive council to take all such steps as lie within its power to hasten the adoption of this measure."

Under the captions of "Health Insurance" and "Insurance Against Unemployment" on page 94 and page 116, the Executive Council in its report expresses the urgent need for a careful study on the desirability of enacting laws providing for the payment of sick benefits during times of illness.

Resolution No. 101 relating to this same subject, affirms the necessity for an investigation but seeks to extend its scope in order to determine what financial or industrial interests, if any, are supporting movements which are interested in furthering this kind of legislation.

Resolution No. 135 seeks an immediate approval of legislation of this character and denies the opportunity for an investigation.

Your Committee notes that the Executive Council rightfully distinguishes trade and occupational diseases from general illnesses not attributable to employment in industry and commerce. We believe that trade and occupational diseases should be considered in law as well as in fact an obligation on industry and that those who contract for the employment of the workers should be required to provide compensation to those suffering by health impairment due to their employment. Your committee, therefore, recommends approval of this part of the Executive Council's report.

Your Committee also views with favor the recommendation of the Executive Council on the general subject of "Health Insurance" in that a special committee should be appointed for the purpose indicated in its report.

PRAISE FOR "HEROES OF PICK."

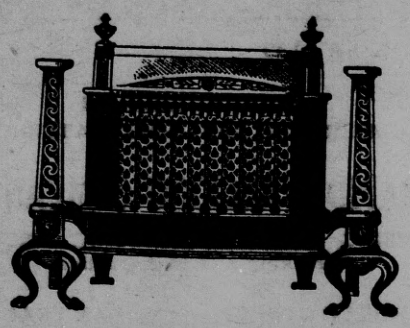
Secretary of War Newton D. Baker, deeply impressed with the patriotic spirit manifested by the 150 mine workers of Mercer County, Pa., who, though retired on account of age, went back to work as soon as they learned of the country's vital need for more coal, wrote recently a letter of appreciation to United States Fuel Administrator Garfield. He wrote:

"My Dear Mr. Garfield:

"I was greatly impressed when I learned recently about 150 retired miners in Mercer County, Pa., recognizing the nation's urgent need of increased fuel, had volunteered to go back to the mines and serve their country there.

"This is the spirit which free and liberal government always engenders, and which insures the triumphs of our arms and aims. I should like, through you, to send a personal greeting to these heroes of the pick.

"Cordially yours,
"NEWTON D. BAKER,
"Secretary of War."



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LABEL SECTION.

Minutes of Regular Meeting held August 21, 1918.

Meeting called to order at 8:20 p. m. by President Kidwell with all officers present but M. E. Kirby, J. P. Sorensen, A. D. Severance, Peter Barling and Patrick O'Brien.

Minutes of previous meeting approved as read.

Communications — From the International Broom & Whisk Makers' Union sending check for their Label Ad Sign advertising and thanking the Section for its co-operation; also furnishing the address of the local secretary with the request that the local affiliate. Filed with instructions to the Label Agent to see what he can do. From the Garment Cutters' Union requesting the Label Section's co-operation in regards to the various laundries furnishing barbers with non-union barber coats. Referred to Label Agent to investigate and filed. From the Allied Culinary Workers' Non-Partisan Political League requesting Organized Labor to take note that Mr. J. J. Crowley failed to use the Bill Posters' Label in distributing his political literature and was not a friend of Labor. Filed.

Reports of Unions—Shoe Clerks will ask for boycott on the firm of Eisenberg, 2592 Mission st., as he absolutely refuses to agree to unionize his store, incidentally stating that Organized Labor never won a strike yet.

Agitation Committee—Reports progress on the Labor Day propaganda. Labor Agent; That he called on the various political headquarters in regard to their printed matter bearing the Union Label and states that the showing is good. On the barber coats, saw the Secretary of the Barbers who states that the supply houses generally handle union labeled coats. Label Agent suggests sending a letter to Barber's Union. Secretary instructed to do so. Reports on the Pocket Cards that he had given the order for 25,000 to Bro. Serverance who was to have a proof here tonight. On the frames for the Wall Signs the best bid was from Wm. Bates at $50.00 for 25 frames. Matter left in hands of Committee.

Unfinished Business—That there will be one or two automobiles carrying banners in the line of march on Labor Day, also a banner will be placed in the Civic Auditorium and slides will be made for the machines the Moving Picture Operators' Union has agreed to leave there for the ball that night.

New Business—Bill Posters request the permission to use some circular letters they have on hand under the letter-head of the Label Section to send to the candidates for the general election. Same granted. Bro. Harpold of the Shoe Clerks' Union requested the issuance of credentials for him from the Section so that when visiting Local Unions on the six o'clock closing agitation he can also speak in behalf of the Label Section. Same granted.

Good of the Section—On the debate in regard to increasing the attendance of the Sections meetings it was suggested that the stereopticon machine should be brought out here from the Label Trades Department. That Quarterly Open Meeting should be held at which prominent speakers should be invited to address the meeting.

At this time a motion was made and seconded to refer back to New Business the same was carried. Moved and seconded to refer to Agitation Committee the matter of quarterly meeting and bring in a report at the next meeting of the Section. Moved and seconded that the Secretary correspond with the Secretary of the Label Trades Department relative to the stereopticon machine. Moved and seconded that the office of Sergeant-at-Arms be declared vacant. Carried. Nominations being opened Bro. W. Ellegroth of the Bakery Wagon Drivers was nominated and elected.

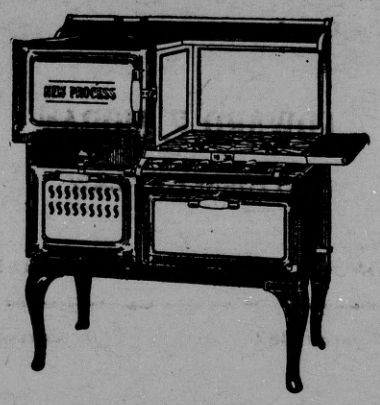
Receipts—Dues and for Signs Ad., $70.50. Label Assessments, $48.26. **Bills**—Donaldson Printing Co., $4; E. G. Buehrer, $2.50; E. G. Buehrer, from special funds, $31.25.

There being no further business the meeting adjourned at 9:50 p. m. to meet Wednesday, September 4th, 1918.

Fraternally submitted,
W. G. Desepte, Secretary.

"Demand the label, card and button."

Success is usually a toss-up between the man with push and the one with a pull.



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Coming Peace Offensive

By William English Walling
Of the American Alliance for Labor and Democracy.

There is no doubt in the minds of careful observers that Germany intends to make her next peace offensive chiefly, if not wholly, by means of her Socialist tools. For this purpose the German Socialist majority is strongly in favor of "an international peace conference," knowing that Germans, pro-Germans, timid neutrals and war-weary pacifists will have an absolute majority.

The game is so plain that the leading newspapers of all countries have come to understand it. Nowhere has it been better explained than in the "Christian Science Monitor," which analyzes the position of the majority Socialists and their organ "Vorwaerts" as follows:

"The news that the 'Vorwaerts' has published a letter written by the executive of the German Socialist majority, and declaring its willingness to participate in an international Socialist conference, to include American Socialists is very far from being without significance. It is, in short, the latest phase of the German peace offensive, and the Allies may rest assured that it will be pressed as relentlessly as has been von Ludendorff's effort to reach Paris in arms.

"The 'Vorwaerts' has, indeed, become as completely an organ of the German government as the 'Lokal Anzeiger' or the 'Koelnische Zeitung.' It exists today to do the bidding of the man in authority, in other words of the Koenings-Platz, as completely as the German soldier in the trenches, and if it mutinied, its fate would be precisely the same. Therefore it is perfectly manifest that when it publishes an announcement that the majority Socialists are desirous of an international conference, it is because the General Staff is anxious that the Socialists should display that anxiety. In other words, it has now become the turn of the Socialists to be used in place of the army. The army, that is to say, having failed in its mission to Paris, the Socialist movement is to be used in the belligerent and neutral countries, to modify the effect of the army's failure.

"Heads I win, says the General Staff: if the army is successful we will take the British and the French colonies, we will hold Belgium and Northern France, and we will extend our empire not only from Hamburg to Bagdad, but from Hamburg to the Caspian. On the other hand, Tails you lose: if the army is defeated we will have a Socialist peace, by which Germany shall lose nothing, but shall be placed in a position to renew Armageddon at leisure.

"The whole idea is so simple that it might have been imagined that anybody could have seen through it. Yet the pacifist welcomes it with delight, and the Socialist toys with it as the triumph of the Internationale and as a new milestone on the road to the federation of the world. If, however, the man in the street might be allowed to adapt the saying of the Gondolier-King, 'The drawbacks they are many and the compensations few. What does any reasonable person suppose the General Staff permits the 'Vorwaerts' to make these suggestions for? Is it to be supposed that it does it out of affection for Socialism, or out of an overmastering desire for peace, as such? The pacifist and the pacifist Socialist will tell you that he is indifferent to the methods of the General Staff, for the moment the Socialists get together round a table, the power of the General Staff will evaporate. That, curiously enough, used to be the very contention of Count von Bernsdorff, who is not generally credited with an incredible affection for pacifism or for Socialism. But the leading prophets are Ulianoff and Bronstein.

"Ulianoff and Bronstein were fully convinced

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that if only the Russian Socialist would throw away his arms, decline the blandishments of the recruiting sergeant, and satiate any bellicose instincts which might be left to him by plundering his neighbor's land, or commandeering his neighbor's factory, a great wave of sympathetic idealism would sweep over Germany."

Ulianoff and Bronstein are, of course, the real names of Lenine and Trotzky who delivered Russia into the hands of Germany by the infamous Brest-Litovsk peace.

There can be no slightest question in the hope of the German government and Socialists to repeat this successful coup by means of an International Socialist conference and strike movement in England, France and Italy.

But, fortunately, the overwhelming majority of the French, English and Italian peoples are aware of the game that is being played, and there is no chance either that the small Socialist minorities will be allowed to send delegates to an International Socialist conference, or that the democratic governments of these peoples will permit any Bolshevist anarchy in Western Europe.

However, those Socialists of all countries who deny that this is a war between autocracy and democracy, and who therefore wish it to stop practically regardless of peace terms are doing the best they can to repeat the Russian debacle and leave all Europe in the Kaiser's hand.

THE DESTINY OF SEQUOIA.

Analysis shows that the very large increase in visitors to the Sequoia National Park last summer, amounting to nearly sixty per cent over the record attendance of the summer before, consisted largely of campers-out, a fact which strongly emphasizes what has been called "the manifest destiny of the Greater Sequoia as the future summer camping place of the Nation."

The report of the director of the National Park Service, just issued, says:

"It was a most pleasing sight to stand in the midst of the giant forest during the past summer and gaze upon the attractively situated and tastefully decorated camps nestled each at the base of an enormous sequoia. It was a peaceful scene and a beautiful one. There was nothing to do in the forest but rest, breathe the health-restoring air, drink the clear, cold water, and contemplate the dignity and beauty of the biggest and oldest of living things. Fishermen came and went, and the hikers and horseback riders took to the trails and returned from the higher altitudes of the park, but the peacefulness and quietude of the forest was never disturbed. Camping in the Giant Forest is all that anybody has written about it and more. It is a glorious experience.

"The enormous increase in travel to the park this year early in the summer disclosed the fact that it would only be a matter of a year or two before all the available camping space would be taken long before the height of the season; also that the streams of the park, unless carefully stocked each year, would be fished out before the summer would be half gone. Anticipating the inevitable need of more camping grounds, the Giant Forest road has been continued from Wolverton to the Marble Fork River, where a splendid opportunity for the development of a fine big camping area exists. There are no Sequoia trees here, but there is a fine forest of pines and firs, and the ground is covered with a clean white gravel that will make camping especially satisfactory. This new camp area will be near the best fishing waters that are at all accessible, and an effort will be made to keep these waters well stocked with trout.

"To provide sufficient trout for the streams of the park hereafter, and particularly for the Marble Fork River, there should be a field hatchery established in the park itself."

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Too precipitate action has often resulted in failure. This is especially the experiences of those interested in the upbuilding of organization of the workers.

Too often have we been carried away by the ardent newcomers in our ranks. With just a glimpse of the possibilities that might be achieved through unity of the workers, through organization, just a hint of the shame of the wrongs that have been perpetrated on the helpless, because divided, men of toil, and the soul of the neophyte take fire; without adequate preparedness, with little or no knowledge of the immensity of the task that confronts them, and all of us, they seek to obtain the ultimate demand immediately and without adequate preparation.

And too often have we allowed ourselves to be carried away by the enthusiasm of the newly-converted. We are prone to forget our many experiences; to permit ourselves to believe that the militant ardor expressed must bring early victory; cannot be retarded or repressed. But all experience is against this. Unionism cannot be born in a day. Years of patient work, of careful education, of discipline are necessary if we would hope to meet the entrenched owners of the resources of the country with well-founded hope for a successful issue.

The system of ownership and individual contract is the natural result of the evolution of industry to its present position. Sentiment for the unqualified right of the property owner still survives from the time when it was only a step from the bench in some other man's workshop to a factory of one's own, equipped with the cheap appliances and tools of those times. And so, today not only the worker himself but the community must be educated to the recognition of the fact that those times have passed and forever, that the impersonal owner and the hired manager has taken the place of the manufacturer, mine or mill owner who once was a worker with his present employees, that the personal touch between the owners and the workers have been made impossible by natural changes over which neither had control, and that, as a consequence, economic power equal or near equal to that of the corporation as an employer could only be gained by the worker through organization, and that such division of power is absolutely necessary if any of the institutions of this Republic shall survive.

And the workers, especially, must be educated to not only recognize the facts outlined above, but to the necessity of discipline; to wisely choose their way and their leaders; to necessary self-restraint, to necessary patience.

It is a long and tedious way! but the only possible way to ultimate success.

Build the organization; educate the membership, the community, even the employer through his managers. Establish the organization first; the benefits will ensue.

It is the sure way, and not so slow as it may seem.

WANT DISQUE REMOVED.

Trade unionists in Seattle, Wash., have petitioned Secretary of War Baker to remove Col. Disque unless that official ceases his opposition to organized labor and either proves his statements that shipbuilders are slacking or acknowledges that this assertion is untrue.

The army official is in charge of the production of spruce lumber for air planes, and the unionists charge that the loyal legion of loggers and lumbermen, which he organized, is an anti-union institution.

Temptations are often very profitable to us, though they be troublesome and grievous; for in them a man is humbled, purified, and instructed. —Thos. a Kempis.

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SUGAR SHORTAGE.

Sugar is practically a universal crop, with a world market, and is produced in some of its forms in every country on the globe except in the frigid zones. A falling off in any section of the producing area necessitates an overproduction in other quarters, or, in normal times, the consumer must be content with a limited supply and the inevitable higher prices. The decrease in production for the year 1916-1917 as compared with the pre-war crop of 1913-1914 was 1,642,222 long tons. The decrease in the production of beet sugar in Europe during the same period was 3,328,828 long tons. This was offset in a measure by increases in the Cuban and Javan crops and elsewhere of 1,600,000 long tons, leaving the world's shortage as above stated 1,642,222 long tons.

The raise in the prices due to the shortage led to the establishment of the sugar division of the United States Federal Food Administration with George Rolph, manager of the California and Hawaiian Sugar Refining Company, as its head. This division fixed the price of Cuban sugar in September, 1917, at $6.90 per hundred pounds, and reduced the price in December, 1917, to $6.005. Owing to an increase in marine insurance this price was raised in June, 1918, to $6.055, which is the price at the present time.

The usual reserve stock has been used up, so for the future the only supplies in sight are those to be had from the growing crops, which according to all indications are somewhat less promising than a year ago. However the island of Java still has from last year's crop about 500,000 long tons unexported, likewise the Philippines about 175,000 tons of last year's crop untouched. The war's demands upon shipping make it unlikely that these stocks of sugar will materially influence the existence of the present shortage. The Hawaiian supply will all be shipped to the market before next December. Sugar producers the world over complain about increases of cost of production, and therefore are seeking higher prices than those hitherto allowed by the government. Thus it appears certain that the present rationing of sugar is likely to be continued. As to prices, however, the government seems determined to eliminate all profiteering or speculation. This can be done in this industry better than in most others by reason of the facility in securing all data required to fix a legitimate price.

HEALTH INSURANCE.

From the Social Insurance Commission of California the following item with request for publication has been received:

The San Francisco County Nurses endorsed the health insurance amendment at their last monthly meeting and appointed a committee to work for its passage.

A group of women like this who come in daily contact with the sick know what it means when you add to sickness destitution.

Health insurance will prevent the sick from becoming destitute for there will be a wage benefit during sickness just as there is now a wage benefit for the man who is hurt on the job.

The Public Health Nurses are practically unanimous in the opinion that health insurance will help tremendously in the reduction of poverty and the costs and losses of illness—and they ought to know for they see enough of it.

The fight for better wages, better living conditions must go on. The pay envelope must be kept up to the American standard. But no rise in wages is going to meet the item of sickness for the particular family upon whom sickness falls with crushing force. The principle of insurance offers a way of pooling that risk without too much burden on the individual or the State. Therefore the California Federation of Labor has indorsed it.

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MUSIC AND PROGRESS.

One cannot easily define the relation between political and social changes, and the character of music; yet whoever observes them well will see that they always bear most expressive relation to each other. In Gothic times arose the Fugue, a musical composition which has been thus described: "It goes circling upward like a many-tongued flame, always aspiring, never finished, telling of more and more that it would be. There are innumerable airs winding and blending into one another, and leading you into the depths and mazes of a mysterious whole." How strikingly is this in keeping with the architecture of those times, and how expressive are both of the dim, superstitious, mystical sentiment of the age.

Before the Reformation, music, as well as literature, was mostly shut up in the church, and masses and anthems, like monkish books, were elaborately learned and artificial. But before the beginning of the seventeenth century, popular airs which people sang at their work and by the wayside, the melodies of a nation's heart, began to be arranged and harmonized. Music glided out of church and monastery into the free air of social life and became the opera. Literature did the same, and took form in drama and novel. . . .

Formerly the air reigned absolute, and the accompaniments were trifling and altogether subordinate appendages; but in modern times, the orchestra has constantly increased in importance. Now, every instrument is an individual character, every one has its say, each attracts attention in turn, and according as it is more or less prominent, the whole expression of the piece is changed. It could not be otherwise with music in this age . . . when men no longer receive from reverence or authority, but each judges of truth for himself, and speaks of it for himself.

That which orchestral music is aiming at, and approaching nearer and nearer to, is to combine variety and unity; to have each class of instruments distinct, yet so to mingle and work together, by harmony or contrast, that one spirit shall pervade the whole. Believers in human progress will need no interpretation of the prophecy contained in this. They will see that music, too, is praying for the kingdom to come "in earth as it is in heaven."—Lydia Maria Child.

FOURTH LIBERTY LOAN.

President Woodrow Wilson is expected to make the trip to the Pacific Coast during the Fourth Liberty Loan campaign which opens September 28th and closes October 19th. Allen L. Chickering, director of the speakers' bureau for this district, has just returned from Washington where he made the proposal and he is confident that if the President is made to understand that the West wants him and that he can render great service for the loan the President will come.

Two "Liberty Loan Specials" will tour this district from the opening to the closing day as a feature of the campaign. Each train will carry battlefield trophies captured by the Americans on the Aisne-Marne front and General Pershing is now making the selection to be shipped immediately. The trains will be made up of a baggage car, tourist sleeper and two flat cars to carry the larger trophies.

American heroes, now in hospitals as the result of recent fighting, will bear the brunt of the speaking campaign in this district. Twenty-five of these soldiers have been assigned to this district. Many speakers of national prominence will assist, among them Lieutenant Vincent de Wierzvicki of the French High Commission.

Automobile tours will be made to reach the communities not touched by the railroad lines. American soldiers will be assigned to these trips.

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QUARRY AND ELECTRICAL HEARINGS.

The Industrial Accident Commission has called Public Hearings to consider Tentative Quarry Safety Rules and Tentative Electrical Station Safety Orders. For some weeks past committees of employers and employees have co-operated with the safety engineers of the Commission in preparing the tentative rules and orders. A. R. Wilson, Vice-President and Manager of the Granite Rock Company, is chairman of the Quarries committee. J. P. Jollyman, engineer of electrical construction for the Pacific Gas and Electric Company and the representative of the National Electric Light Association, served as chairman of the Electrical Station Committee.

During the twenty-four months of 1915 and 1916 there were 32 fatal injuries, 60 permanent injuries and 2314 temporary injuries in the quarries of California. The total cost in compensation and medical fees was $176,034.

Electricity caused 739 injuries in California during 1915 and 1916, divided as follows: Fatals, 50; permanents, 13; temporaries, 676. The sum of $153,566 represents the medical and compensation costs.

The Tentative Quarry Safety Rules will be considered at two Public Hearings, the first on August 28th at 525 Market Street, San Francisco, commencing at 10 a. m., and the second on September 11th in the Union League Building, Los Angeles, commencing at 10 a. m.

The Tentative Electrical Station Safety Orders will be the subject of discussion at two Public Hearings, the first on September 12th in the Union League Building, Los Angeles, commencing at 10 a. m., and the second on September 25th at 525 Market Street, San Francisco, commencing at 10 a. m.

The Industrial Accident Commission extends to citizens an invitation to attend these Public Hearings.

"GLASS" IN BREAD.

When the use of wheat substitutes in bakers' bread became general considerable agitation was aroused by reports that consumers were finding ground glass in bread. From time to time such reports are likely to persist owing to the fact that the same conditions will probably continue. In view of this it is of considerable interest to review the bulletin published by the Indiana State Council of Defense under the supervision of Dr. H. E. Barnard, explaining just why these erroneous reports were circulated. This bulletin says that almost without exception authorities have been unable to verify the rumors of glass in bread, and in endeavoring to explain this exhaustive investigations and experiments were made. The bulletin says:

"Corn flour under the microscope shows many hard, flinty pieces of the endosperm (germ), which have a very glassy appearance. When baked in a quick oven some of these particles retain their glass like appearance, though in the ordinary process of baking this appearance is lost. This is the explanation given by experts employed by the International Union of Bakers and Confectionery Workers.

"In bran flours a nervous person might easily fancy that particles of the hard outer husk were glass. And dextrine sometimes solidifies into a hard, transparent mass, which might be mistaken for glass.

"The natural conclusion is that most of the people who reported having found glass in their bread were deceived by the appearance of the new materials."

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TO DEVELOP THE SIERRA.

The importance of developing the superlative scenic regions of the Sierra in the only way they can be developed practically is tersely stated in the Report of the Director of the National Park Service to the Secretary of the Interior.

"This leads me," he says, "to the project which contemplates the addition of the Kings River country, the Great Western Divide, the Kern Canyon, and about 70 miles of the very crest of the Sierra Nevada, including Mount Whitney, the highest mountain in the United States, exclusive of Alaska, to the Sequoia National Park. The proposition is called the 'Greater Sequoia' project. It stands at the very top of the list of meritorious park-extension projects, and we earnestly hope that Congress in its next session will enact legislation along the lines of Senator Phelan's bill (S. 2021), entitled 'A bill to add certain lands to the Sequoia National Park.'

"The mountainous area to be added is valuable for no purposes but those of a national park. There is practically no merchantable timber on the lands, and most of what is classed as merchantable is giant Sequoia timber that should be preserved for park purposes and not sold to lumber interests to destroy. There are relatively small grazing areas in this region, and some of the grazing land should be set aside for pasturage of tourist stock. Ultimately, it may all be needed for the visitors.

"By far the largest portion of the whole territory involved in the extension plan is a wild mountainous region of extraordinary grandeur, a tumbled sea of mountainous peaks from 12,000 to over 14,000 feet in altitude, with Mount Whitney as the climax of the whole thing; with hundreds of lakes, clear as crystal, beautiful beyond description, and many of them well stocked with trout; with great deep gorges that compare favorably with the famous Yosemite Valley, that were carved by the Ice King in the same manner as the Yosemite was chiseled from the solid granite; with raging rivers, great waterfalls and even glaciers; a region that is national park in character from north to south and from east to west, every foot of it."

The report quotes the report of the Secretary of the Interior for 1915 as follows:

"Congress so carefully cut the boundaries of the national parks to the express purpose for which each was created that, in some instances, scenic features of the very first order were excluded. In the careful study which the department has since made of each such territory it has become apparent that, in several instances outlying territory should be added to these reservations. The most distinguished of these instances is Sequoia National Park, the boundaries of which should be extended to include the superb Kings Canyon on the north and on the east the Kern Canyon and the west slope and summit of Mount Whitney."

STATE EMPLOYMENT SERVICE.

According to the report of C. B. Sexton, superintendent of the State's public employment bureaus, to Labor Commissioner John P. McLaughlin, for the fiscal year ending June 30th last, 63,666 persons were given employment during the term reported on, by the four offices in San Francisco, Oakland, Sacramento and Los Angeles. In the Bay district 39,196 men and 10,939 women were referred to positions. Transportation and public utilities took the greatest number of men and private homes took the largest number of women. But the occupations listed comprise a great variety, and some of them require a great number of employees.

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Democracy or Destruction

By Frank P. Walsh

This world war has provided the beginning of a splendid education in democracy. Democracy has been our great fighting slogan and we have—some of us—begun to analyze democracy and to find out, in the concrete and in detail, what our slogan means.

In this re-examination the country has discovered one thing at least about democracy—that it must mean more than old-fashioned political democracy. The old idea that when everybody votes you have a democracy—that is pretty well exploded. When one or two men, assisted by a Wall Street bank or two, can silently and secretly corner the steel supply of the world and obtain control over one after another of the basic materials of industry, as well as hundreds of thousands of workers in the factories, raising prices and manipulating markets at will, anyone who is honest knows that that is not what people mean when they talk about American democracy and volunteer to die for it.

When a labor man, convicted of a heinous crime, by the use of the blackest perjury, can be blocked for two years in a nation-wide demand, voiced by the President of the United States himself, for a fair trial on honest evidence, the thinking citizen knows that this is not what the American people mean by democracy.

Democracy surely means that people shall control the condition of their lives. And no one knows better than the trade unionist that the average wage-earner has had very little control over the conditions of his life, especially over that part of his life which is the core of all the rest—his job.

The wage-earner sees the purchasing power of his dollar diminishing. (It is worth about 65 cents compared with its value at the beginning of 1916.) In other words, he sees his wage decreasing steadily and relentlessly, month after month, while his wife and children sink lower and lower in the scale of living. He asks his employer, let us say, to receive a committee representing himself and his fellow workmen, to discuss the matter. He is told that the firm "doesn't employ committees" and won't deal with them. He suggests arbitration. He is told there is "nothing to arbitrate." And the suspicion begins to take root in his mind that this is exactly the way he would be treated if he were a German subject appealing to the kaiser for some political reform. He begins to understand that he is, in relation to his job, up against the very thing that makes Germany hideous—autocracy.

The country, I promise you, is beginning to understand that we may have 100 per cent democracy in the form of our political government and yet have autocracy of the most despotic type in industry. It is a fine thing to elect our representatives to legislative halls, but it is a more practical and useful thing to elect our own representatives in industry. It is a necessary thing to have full share in the varied political activities of the community, state and nation; but it is infinitely more vital to have a compelling voice in the industrial policies under which we work every day in the year.

It is now clear to all understanding men, and especially to those who work for their living, that to attempt to control the conditions of one's life through the roundabout way of political oratory and legislative action is futile, and that this old-fashioned attempted substitute for a direct and common-sense control through the workshop must be thrown into the scrap heap of pre-war absurdities.

Political democracy is a delusion unless builded upon and guaranteed by a free and virile industrial democracy.

Now, just as the people of the country, under the searching criticism of war conditions, are becoming familiar with the idea of industrial democracy, so the industries of the country are becoming increasingly familiar with the new industrial dispensation. Under the National War Labor Board, scores of industrial disputes have been settled in the last four months, involving in the aggregate hundreds of thousands of wage-earning men and women. And in every case where collective bargaining has been denied the workers heretofore, it has been installed by order of the Board.

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group representation of the employees had ever been permitted by the company, and men were hired under an individual contract which in effect prohibited union membership. The Board ordered these contracts abolished, at the same time protecting the employees in their right to join the union of their trade. Further, the Board itself installed, through a representative, the machinery for collective bargaining in a form acceptable to the men, a form which they will make their own and improve upon in the future as their experience suggests. The system introduced provides not only for collective bargaining in the restricted sense, but also (what is still more important) for securing to the men a voice in the technical operation and day-to-day routine of the shop.

The Board ordered that "the election by the workers of their representative department committees to present grievances and mediate with the company shall be held, during the life of this award, in some convenient public building by the examiner of this Board assigned to superin the neighborhood of the plant, to be selected vise the execution of this award, or, in the case of his absence, by some impartial person, a resident of Pittsfield, to be selected by such examiner. Such examiner, or his substitute, shall preside over the first and all subsequent elections during the life of this award, and have the power to make the proper regulations to secure absolute fairness."

"The duties of the department committees shall be confined to the adjustment of disputes which the shop foremen and the division superintendents and the employees have been unable to adjust."

And this scheme of democratic co-operation has been introduced by the War Labor Board in plant after plant where an autocrat has heretofore reigned supreme.

These department committees, together with the representative of the employer with whom they meet, might well be called the two houses of the local or state legislature of this new industrial democracy.

Here is the provision for the "Federal Congress":

"The department committees shall meet annually and shall select from among their number three employees who shall be known as the committee on appeals. This committee shall meet with the management for the purpose of adjusting disputes which the department committees have failed to adjust."

In practice this committee on appeals will deal with many of the broader questions of policy which affect the shop as a whole. Perhaps this "federal legislature" might be better likened to the English Parliament, with its House of Commons representing the citizenry and its House of Lords representing vested privilege, than to our American forums of legislation. But it is well here to remember that the English House of Lords recently lost its veto power over those measures most vitally affecting the welfare of the people.

The War Labor Board, by proclamation of the President, must institute collective bargaining in every case which comes under its jurisdiction, for its first principle reads:

"The right of workers to organize in trade-unions and to bargain collectively through chosen representatives is recognized and affirmed. This right shall not be denied, abridged, or interfered with by the employers in any manner whatsoever."

Moreover, the Government does not wish the workers to be unrepresented; it realizes that the national welfare demands the common sense and economy, the collective loyalty and collective responsibility, which free collective bargaining insures.

With your aggressive assistance, I believe the process of democratization will continue until there will remain not one wage-earner in the country deprived of full voice in determining the conditions of his job and consequently of his life.

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CALIFORNIAN.

I stand beside the mobile sea;
And sails are spread, and sails are furled
From farthest corners of the world,
And fold like white wings wearily.
Steamships go up, and some go down
In haste, like traders in a town,
And seem to see and beckon all.
Afar at sea some white shapes flee,
With arms stretched like a ghost's to me,
And cloud-like sails far blown and curled,
They glide down to the underworld. . . .
Broad, still brown wings flit here and there,
Thin sea-blue wings wheel everywhere,
And white wings whistle through the air:
I hear a thousand sea-gulls all. . . .

Dared I but say a prophecy,
As sang the holy men of old,
Of rock-built cities yet to be
Along those shining shores of gold,
Crowding athirst into the sea,
What wondrous marvels might be told!
Enough, to know that empire here
Shall burn her loftiest, brightest star;
Here art and eloquence shall reign,
As o'er the wolf-reared realm of old;
Here learned and famous from afar,
To pay their noble court, shall come,
And shall not seek or see in vain,
But look on all with wonder dumb.

Afar the bright Sierras lie,
A swaying line of snowy white,
A fringe of heaven hung in sight
Against the blue base of the sky.

I look along each gaping gorge,
I hear a thousand sounding strokes
Like giants rending giant oaks,
Or brawny Vulcan at his forge;
I see pick-axes flash and shine
And great wheels whirring in a mine.
Here winds a thick and yellow thread,
A mossed and silver stream instead. . . .
Lo! when the last pick in the mine
Is rusting red with idleness,
And fall yon cabins in the mold,
And wheels no more croak in distress,
And tall pines reassert command,
Sweet bards along this sunset shore
Their mellow melodies will pour;
Will charm as charmers very wise,
Will strike the harp with master hand,
Will sound unto the vaulted skies
The valor of these men of old—
The mighty men of Forty-nine;
Will sweetly sing and proudly say,
Long, long agone there was a day
When there were giants in the land.

—Joaquin Miller.

FOCH AND HINDENBURG.

A lecture of striking interest just now, when the kaiser has ordered Hindenburg to the western front to try to stop Foch, will be given by Walter Holloway, Sunday evening, September 1st, on "Foch and Hindenburg." It will be a character study of the French and German peoples as illustrated by the military methods of their great leaders. Citizens of San Francisco, who have attended Mr. Holloway's lectures during the past four years, will be pleased to learn that he will continue his work in our city. His lectures on the problems growing out of the world war have attracted wide attention and have won him an enviable reputation as an accurate observer and speaker. Mr. Holloway is making a worthy contribution to the cause of democracy by enlightening the people on the issues involved in this final struggle with military autocracy.

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The advance of modern biologic science has made steady and positive contributions toward the valuation of human life. Medical science, building upon and utilizing the results of biology, has made miracles real in the practical elimination of many diseases and the preservation of life. The losses to society through unnecessary and preventable deaths are social calamities. The greatest economic waste in America has its sources in preventable illness, accidents and deaths. Yet despite the accomplishments of biologic and medical science, these causes continue to operate extensively, and become more and more questions for public concern.

Dr. George M. Gould says that the combined annual cost of illness and death in the United States is probably not less than $3,000,000,000, and he adds that one-third of this is preventable. Professor Irving Fisher of Yale University estimates the annual deaths in the United States at 1,500,000, and that, of these, 630,000 are preventable; and he asserts a possible economic saving by prevention of $1,000,000,000 annually. In his well known report on National Vitality, Professor Fisher also states that by the scientific application of well known laws of health the mortality among infants can be reduced 40 per cent, young children 67 per cent, youth and middle age 49 per cent, and advanced age 28 per cent. He estimates the average duration of life in the United States at 45 years, and places the possible prolongation of life at nearly fifteen years, making a total of 60 years as a possibility.

"The rate at which life is lengthening varies greatly from one country to another, and depends largely upon the relation existing between normality and maladjustment. Among males in England the average length of life is increasing at the rate of fourteen years per century; France, ten years; Denmark, thirteen years; Prussia, twenty-five years, and Massachusetts, fourteen years." Accepting the table as an approximation only, but as signifying a genuine lengthening of life, and hence an increased working period, it is evident that the economic gain in all these countries is greatly augmented by the indicated prolongation of life, and especially is this true of Prussia, where social insurance evi-

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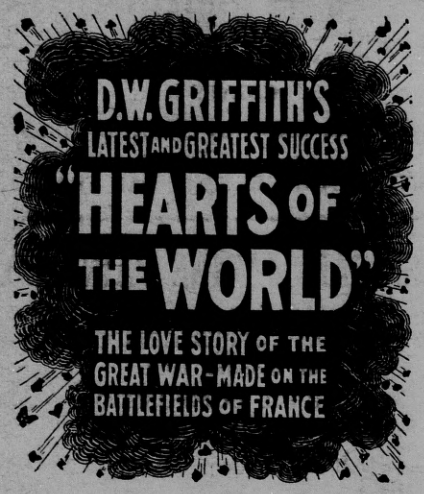

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dently has been a large factor in increased longevity during the past twenty years. Considering the direct national effort to improve the social condition of her people, it is not remarkable that Prussia shows the greatest increase in average longevity during the past century.

There are no figures available by which the effect of social insurance on length of life may be scientifically demonstrated. No country has operated long enough under systematic accident, life, illness, and old-age insurance to furnish data complete enough for a scientific estimate of the cumulative of the system. Nevertheless, it is highly probable that, next to biologic and medical science, social insurance is the greatest modern influence toward such a result. Metchnikoff, Pasteur, Koch and Fisher are among our greatest authorities on longevity, and they all unite in the belief that human life can be indefinitely extended by scientific application of extant knowledge.

Insurance against sickness is discussed later, but at this point it is permissible to say that any economic provision whereby sickness can be adequately combated in the middle and lower classes of society does positively operate for longevity, and consequently for an increased period of economic productivity.

Social insurance that makes economic provision for individuals, or dependent families, against accident, either fatal or non-fatal, operates in the second case to restore the injured person to normal condition with a minimum loss of time; in the first it insures continuity of family life and the physical efficiency of dependents. In both cases the general result is the equivalent of prolongation of life. Old-age insurance is a direct social premium on maturity. It is a positive effort at life preservation. Here the only direct economic gain to society is the probable prolongation of the working period of life through the elimination of the harassing thought of poverty in old age.

Considering all phases of social insurance, it probably will become a dominant factor in the conservation of life, operating to make economically possible the application of all known scientific means for prolongation among millions of people now dependent solely on unintelligent individual effort. It is an immense propaganda of human appreciation, working for the increase and conservation of life. It becomes a premium on righteous living.

The British law adopted in 1911 includes all manual laborers between the ages of sixteen and seventy. Other workers such as clerks and agents are compelled to insure if their earnings are less than $800 annually. Some employments are excluded, but despite this, 13,743,000 persons were insured, or approximately 30 per cent of the total population, under the first year of the operation of the law.

Countries vary in the distribution of the costs of insurance. Germany collects two-thirds of the premium from the employer and one-third from the worker. In some countries the cost is distributed between the employer, employee, the city and the state. Frequently, but not in all cases, the employee's contribution rises and falls accordingly as his wages increase or diminish. The English law adopts a fixed uniform rate of payment by insured men, and a rate of one-fourth less for insured women. However, a reduced rate is given to workers receiving less than 62½ cents per day.

Character is made by resistance against evil, not by lack of knowledge of it.

Blessings come disguised. Most of us get what we deserve without recognizing it.

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Board Meeting Held August 27, 1918.

President Walter A. Weber, presiding.

Minutes of previous meeting approved as read.

New member: R. Jordan Higgins, piano.

Transfers deposited: Russell M. Bertram, Tucson 622, drums; Judith Watts, Boise 537, piano and violin.

Transfers withdrawn: W. R. Gilbert, P. L. Raymond, T. H. Henkel and Leona Gartin.

Bandmasters Attention.

We are in receipt of the following from Pres. Jos N. Weber:

WANTED.

Bandmasters in U. S. Army, age 21 to 45. Must be citizens. Apply in writing, stating where born, musical experience and qualifications, also what instruments qualified to perform on. Those passing the requirements will receive commissions. Apply in writing to Principal U. S. Army Music Training School, Governor's Island, N. Y.

Labor Day Leaders.

Leaders of bands for Labor Day will send in list of members of their bands to the office of the Secretary at once that same may be properly checked up.

Where to Report on Labor Day.

Members of this organization living in Oakland, Alameda and Berkeley will parade with the Oakland Branch and they will report at 11th and Clay Sts., Oakland, on Monday morning at 9:45 a. m. Branch Secretary Geo. E. Williams will be in charge and members will present their postal cards to him. Members on this side of the bay will report not later than 10:15 a. m. at the southeast corner of Market and Steuart streets and will present their notification cards to Secretary Greenbaum. Bring your postal card; otherwise you will not be checked off the list. If you are unable through physical disability, absence from the jurisdiction or employment on that day, to parade, mail your postal back to this office, together with the facts in the case.

Price List Changes.

At a meeting of the Board held on Friday, August 23rd, in accordance with the laws of this organization, a number of important changes were made in our price list. These changes will be in effect on and after September 29th and will be published as soon as they can be compiled. Any of the members who were not present at that meeting and wish to be informed as to the changes, will receive same by calling at the office of the Secretary.

Oakland Branch Meeting.

The regular monthly meeting of the Oakland branch will be held on September 5th at 1 o'clock p. m. at the headquarters of the Branch in the Blake block, 12th and Washington streets, Oakland.

The Boys of the 67th.

Word has reached this office that the boys of the 67th Band are now at Camp Mills, Long Island, New York, and will soon be sailing for "Somewhere in France."

Matter Crowded Out.

Owing to the fact that the Annual Labor Day Edition of the "Clarion" is being issued this week, the paper goes to press earlier than usual and the editor has called for our notes two days ahead of time. For that reason, we have a number of things that were intended for publication this week but which we find impossible to get ready. We have several letters from the front and a very interesting story concerning our distinguished member, August Wetterman.

A. A. G.

There is something finer than to do right against inclination; and that is to have an inclination to do right. There is something nobler than reluctant obedience; and that is joyful obedience. The rank of virtue is not measured by its disagreeableness, but by its sweetness to the heart that loves it. The real test of character is joy. For what you rejoice in, that you love. And what you love, that you are like.—Henry Van Dyke.

Think twice before you speak. It is easier to leave a thing unsaid than try to unsay it.

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INFLUENCE MUST EXTEND SOUTH.

The necessity for unity with the workers of Latin America is increasing, writes Santiago Iglesias, president of the Free Federation of Workingmen of Porto Rico, in the "American Federationist."

"The capitalists of North America and some European countries in combination with financial interests and officials of the various governments," he says, "are scattering millions of dollars through Latin America acquiring concessions and business properties which are disposed of to them by Latin-American politicians and speculators, without taking into consideration the needs and rights of the masses of the people, who by these transactions have their future endangered for decades and perhaps centuries.

"If the employers and capitalists of Pan-America thus unite for the protection of their common advantage, it becomes all the more evident that the wage earners of these countries must also unite for their common protection and betterment.

"Out of all the chaotic mixings, strivings and plottings of the money trust and profiteers of the nation with conflicts forced upon the Latin-American peoples, one sees steadily emerging and growing the desire and determination of these financial agents to control the governments, because of the promised power and wealth to be worn out of cheap labor and even more cheap land.

"In most of these countries the conditions of the working people are deplorable. Plutocratic forces of the United States are taking the good name of this nation and spreading among these peoples a wrong conception of American ideas and ideals. So it will be the duty of the Pan-American federation of labor to show to the world that its purpose is to permeate the western hemisphere with human influence. This influence will more truly represent the sentiments of the American people than the influence of all the corporations of the United States, and be in strong contrast with those capitalists who are eternally crying, 'business, business,' and 'dollars,' 'dollars.'"

TELEGRAPHERS GAIN.

Postmaster General Burleson has approved a 10 per cent wage increase for employees of the Western Union Telegraph company with the understanding it applies to all these workers.

The Western Union's "union" was formed in this city recently when sixteen telegraphers, supposed to represent 50,000 employees, adopted a constitution. Following this action a meeting was called in this city to organize a local. Chicago is classed as a "loyal" city, but these employees failed to live up to the reputation the company wished on them, as only 37 out of 4,500 employees attended. The same percentage prevailed in other cities, and in New York the "union" elected a janitor as its first president.

President Carlton then ammounced his wage increase for the "loyalists." This means that Western Union has dropped the big stick and will apply the sugar and molasses system in the hope that the bona fide trade union movement will be chloroformed rather than bludgeoned.

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San Francisco Labor Council

Minutes of Meeting Held Friday, Aug. 23, 1918.

Meeting called to order by President Haggerty at 8:20 p. m.

Roll Call—All officers present.

Reading of Minutes—Approved as printed in "Labor Clarion."

Credentials—Elevator Operators, E. M. Barnum, J. DeVries, vice H. A. Milton and A. W. Kern. Delegates seated.

Communications—Filed—Warehouse and Cereal Workers, $25 donation to Visitacion car victims. Trunk, Bag and Suitcase Workers, donation to same cause, $5. Electrical Workers, No. 151, 47 blue stars and 1 gold star in their Service Flag, signifying that 47 members are in the United States Army and Navy, and 1 died in service in France. From Tumulty, secretary to President Wilson, regretting inability of President to decide, but thanking Council for invitation by telegraph to visit San Francisco. Water Workers No. 401, have three men in U. S. service. Electrical Workers, No. 92, have 37 men in U. S. service. Waterfront Workers' Federation, copy of minutes and copy of instructions to affiliated unions regarding Labor Day parade, also notifying members that John Rosseter is Federal Director-General of Transportation and will address the Federation on Wednesday at 8 p. m., September 4, 1918; also giving list of donations for purpose of reorganizing Bay and Rivermen's Union. From Tannery Workers, enclosing affidavits describing unlawful efforts on the part of certain persons to intimidate members from belonging to their organization.

Application for reaffiliation of Local No. 29 of International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen, 274-276 Monadnock Building. On motion, union reinstated and delegates from same to be seated on presentation of credentials.

Referred to Labor Day Committee—From Allied Printing Trades Council, regarding instructions for Labor Day parade. From Chief of Police A. D. White, promising to furnish all necessary detail of police for the Labor Day celebration.

Referred to Executive Committee—From Waiters' Union No. 30, wage scale for Class A houses. Moving Picture Operators, application for boycotts of Edison Theatre, Powell near Market; Colonial Theatre, Haight near Fillmore; Kearny Theatre, Kearny near Washington. Local Joint Board of Culinary Unions, endorsement of wage scale of Waiters' Union. Warehouse and Cereal Workers, application for boycott of Crowley's Feed Mills, Eighth and Townsend. Wage scale and agreement of Water Workers. Janitors'

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Union, requesting action against Odeon and Unique theatres.

Requests Complied With—From Union Label Trades Department of American Federation of Labor, requesting communications be sent to the President, Hon. James A. Garfield, Fuel Administrator, and Herbert C. Hoover, Food Administrator, in opposition to curtailing of the materials for the brewing industry. From Building Trades Council of Los Angeles, resolution in favor of free transportation of enlisted men while on furlough, and requesting endorsement thereof, and forwarding of copy to Secretary William G. McAdoo. From Barbers' Union, resolution expressing congratulations to publishers of "Call" in securing as editor Fremont Older of the "Bulletin." On the latter, motion to close debate, 64 ayes to 52 noes, declared lost on point of order that such motion requires two-thirds vote. Motion to adopt carried. Resolution reads:

"To the citizens of San Francisco, F. W. Kellogg and the publishers of the San Francisco 'Call':

"Resolved, That we, the Journeymen Barbers' Union of San Francisco, convey our heartiest congratulations to the management on the retention as editor and chief of the San Francisco Evening 'Call' that peerless and noble character that it has been the good fortune of San Francisco to possess at the head of the San Francisco 'Bulletin' as editor. It is indeed fortunate that San Francisco and the 'Call' in particular has secured the service of Mr. Fremont Older. We recognize in him the foremost newspaper man—fearless in his attitude for progressive legislation and in the advancement of all measures to uplift mankind. He has in the past been the one strong character in our midst to lead the public mind from the pitfalls of uncertainty to clearer and better humanitarian laws. Be it further

"Resolved, That we, the Journeymen Barbers' Union of San Francisco, feel it our duty as part of the citizens of San Francisco, to express our felicitations to Mr. Fremont Older and wish that the Creator may spare and guide him so that he may pursue the same attitude in his new capacity on the San Francisco 'Call' for the good of mankind that he has in the past. Be it further

"Resolved, That we send a copy of these resolutions to the publishers of San Francisco 'Call' and to the San Francisco Labor Council."

Referred to Secretary—Inquiries regarding arrangements for Labor Day parade from Ship Painters' Local No. 961, 226 DeLong street, and from Coopers' Union.

Referred to Financial Secretary—Withdrawal of E. B. Cochran as delegate of Cooks' Helpers and not to send anyone as his successor.

Reports of Unions—Federal Employees, have received substantial increase in wages; thank the Council, the Building Trades Council, Congressman John I. Nolan, and Mr. Shanahan, Superintendent of the Mint, for assistance in the matter. Butchers No. 508, have signed agreement for

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closed shop and with $25 monthly raise in wages; thank Council for assistance. Retail Shoe Clerks, E. Eisenberg, 2592 Mission street, is unfair, impeding progress of movement for early closing. Culinary unions, reported death of International Organizer John P. McGinley. Beer Bottlers, have 65 per cent of soda water bottlers organized; have endorsed James Rolph for governor. Local 278, Retail Delivery Drivers, are organizing drivers of soda-water wagons. Cap Makers, have settled with employers for an increase of $2 weekly for all hands. Jitney Bus Operators, have legal troubles with Insurance Commissioner with respect to securing license for indemnity company started by their own members, a writ of mandamus pending in court. Electrical Workers No. 92, are meeting with success in organizing telephone operators; meeting with opposition from the company. Tannery Workers, are meeting with intimidation in efforts to retain members in the union. Moving Picture Operators, will hold a grand ball at Exposition Auditorium, August 31st. Electrical Workers No. 151, have signed two years' agreement with power companies calling for substantial increases. Laundry Workers, report receiving an increase of $2 for all hands.

Special Order—At 9:15, Mlle. De Bryas, representative of the Committee on Public Information, spoke to the Council regarding conditions of women and children in the invaded sections of France, described cruelties practiced by German soldiers, and the gratitude of the French people shown by their reception in their homes of American soldiers in France.

Reports of Committees:

Label Section—Minutes ordered printed in "Labor Clarion."

Executive Committee—Still awaiting concrete wage scale to be submitted by Cap Makers. Wage scale of Retail Shoe Clerks, laid over with consent of union. Matter of affiliation of Trunk Makers with International Union, referred to secretary. In the matter of chauffeurs' controversy with taxicab companies, results of two meetings and efforts of subcommittee to arrive at an adjustment were reported, also telegram from International Brotherhood of Teamsters. In this matter, committee recommended that there be submitted as a compromise between the two opposing sides the proposition for a split shift of nine hours within twelve. Motion to adopt committee's recommendation lost by vote of 20 ayes to 38 noes. Moved that a boycott be levied against all taxicab companies not complying with the existing scale of Chauffeurs' Union; carried.

Law and Legislative Committee—Reported progress on proposed charter amendments. Recommended endorsement of local ordinance submitted by a number of unions providing for a weekly day of rest by the closing of stores and workshops on Sunday, with the exception of those engaged in war work, public utilities, refreshments and amusements, newspapers, and such as have usually been conducted on Sunday. Recommendation concurred in.

New Business—Moved that secretary communicate with J. P. Downes, superintendent of the telephone company, requesting that he cease his activities opposing the organization of telephone operators. Moved that Council levy a boycott on store of E. Eisenberg, shoe dealer, 2592 Mission; carried. Moved that Council adjourn out of respect to the memory of John P. McGinley; carried.

Council adjourned at 11:40 p. m.

Fraternally submitted,

JOHN A. O'CONNELL, Secretary.

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CAN'T DRAFT STRIKERS.

Provost Marshal General Crowder has notified Virginia authorities that Secretary of War Baker has ruled that strikers cannot be drafted or lose their classification on the ground that they are idlers.

Complaint was made by J. J. Forrester, grand president of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, in the case of Richmond, Va., employees of the consolidated express companies, who suspended work and lost their classification by the local draft board.

Secretary of War Baker's statement on this question is:

"The regulation is silent upon that subject, but it is not the intention of the department to permit the draft regulations to be used to affect any such labor controversy, and unemployment by reason of strikes will not be regarded as such unemployment as will cancel either exemption or deferred classification. The whole question of the relation of the government to labor is for administration by the labor department, and the war department does not intend any indirect interference with it."

Governor Philipp of Wisconsin announced that the state draft administration will not permit the draft to become a factor in industrial disputes, and that the draft administration condemns amployers who, by intimidation or insinuation, attempt to use the deferred classification of workers under the selective service law as a leverage upon their industrial status.

MME. DE BRYAS ADDRESSES COUNCIL.

Madame De Bryas, representing the American Committee on Public Information, addressed the San Francisco Labor Council last Friday evening. She is reputed to be a French countess and speaks English fluently and appealingly. She has spent three years with the Red Cross on the western front. With touching pathos she described the cruelties practiced upon the children and women in the invaded portions by the German soldiery. As instances of frightfulness, she mentioned how loaves of bread, helmets, lead pencils and other desirable and innocent-looking things are filled with high explosives and left in the wake of the retreating Germans, causing frightful havoc on being touched or examined. Everywhere the American soldiers are greeted as the deliverers from the Huns, and the French people in their gratitude do all that they can to honor them and to make them feel at home. French homes are the most exclusive in any country, but American boys are received in every French home like it were their own.

FOOD COSTS GOING SKYWARD.

The retail price of food continues skyward, ac cording to the United States bureau of labor statistics.

Between April 15 and May 15 of this year prices jumped 3 per cent. Between May 15, this year, and May 15, last year, prices increased 5 per cent.

Between May, 1913, and May, 1918, prices advanced 63 per cent.

Between April 15 and May 15 of this year, the price of round steak and plate boiling beef increased 10 per cent; sirloin steak, rib and chuck beef, 9 per cent; pork chops, 3 per cent and bacon, ham and rice, 2 per cent.

The 63 per cent increase between 1913 and 1918 shows that every article advanced 38 per cent or over. Corn meal advanced 133 per cent, lard 108, flour 100, milk 50, butter 42 and potatoes 38. Ten other articles increased over 50 per cent.

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:-: Typographical Topics :-:

Last Sunday's meeting of the union brought out an unusual attendance, more than ordinary interest being manifested because of the report of the Committee on Revision of Laws, the report of the Newspaper Scale Committee, and the election of delegates to the San Diego convention of the California State Federation of Labor, which meets the first Monday in October.

S. C. Simpson and Aaron Bibo were elected to membership, and applications were received from F. X. Baumann and F. E. Winters.

The report of the Committee on Revision of Laws was adopted practically as submitted, the only change being a provision inserted by the Executive Committee which forbids the destroying of ballots by chapel election boards and places that power in the hands of the general election board, to be used only after careful investigation of facts surrounding each case. The use of envelopes in which the ballots have heretofore been placed is now discontinued, it being agreed by all that the practice is expensive, cumbersome and unnecessary. The use of a printed roster, and the compilation of it fifteen days before election, was ordered to be discontinued. Hereafter persons who have paid current dues and assessments will be allowed to vote without question on presentation of a working card. Altogether, the amended law is thought to be satisfactory. It is the work of Messrs. Johnson, Crawford and Mullen, who compose the revision committee, and they are deserving of the thanks of the union for the very efficient manner in which the work was done. It was ordered that the committee be continued until after the amended laws of the I. T. U. are received, following the Scranton convention, when such additional changes as are necessary in the local laws will be made and a revised edition will be printed.

The Newspaper Scale Committee submitted its report and presented, in printed form, a new scale. The document is perhaps the best arranged scale yet offered, being set forth in such manner as to be readily understood by anyone, each subject being presented under appropriate headings and everything relating to a particular subject being included under one heading. The union will hold a special meeting on Sunday, September 15th, at which time the scale will be the only matter up for consideration.

The question of the number of delegates to be sent to the San Diego convention of the State Federation of Labor was thoroughly discussed, resulting in the selection of two, the union being entitled to six. It was pointed out that the two delegates would have the same voting strength as would six, and those in favor of economy won their contention after a spirited debate. Four candidates were nominated—Messrs. Tracy, Schonhoff, Davie and Wells. A ballot resulted in the selection of Tracy and Schonhoff.

An important change in the laws of the I. T. U., made by the Scranton convention, requires that all local unions shall report the individual earnings of each member each month. It is predicted that will result in an increased revenue of many thousands of dollars, the present system, or lack of system, being permissive of abuses of the law that cannot otherwise be checked up.

The referendum of the I. T. U. will be called upon to determine whether any more conventions shall be held during the period of the war. Of the more than 700 subordinate unions, only about 100 were represented at the Scranton meeting.

A postal card from Sergeant Fred Bebergall contains the news that he is en route for "somewhere in France."

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OLD STAGES OF NEW ENGLAND.

Mary Caroline Crawford in her interesting book, "Social Life of Old New England," says that "while we have a great many interesting accounts of late eighteenth and early nineteenth century journeys in New England, it is exceedingly difficult to find anything whatever about inns and innkeepers of the seventeenth century. We do know, however, that as early as 1630 Lynn had the famous 'Anchor' Tavern, which existed for one hundred and seventy years and served as a half-way house between Boston and Salem, and that in 1633 ordinary keepers in Salem were forbidden to charge more than sixpence for a meal.

The New England inn of these early days was an institution, it must be understood, not a mere incident of travel and wayfare. Often an innkeeper would undertake an ordinary for entertaining strangers 'at the earnest request of the town.' Very frequently, as we have seen in an earlier chapter, the inn was put close to the meeting-house for the express purpose of providing a place in which worshippers could thaw out after their long journey. . . . A whole book might be written—I have indeed written one myself—on the evolution of this type of ordinary, and attendant changes in methods of travel from Sarah Knight's day to 1822, when the journey from Boston to New York was made by stage to Providence and by steamer the rest of the way. The fare on the coach was then three dollars, and the forty-mile journey was accomplished in four hours and fifty minutes."

"Providence early became a thriving commercial center largely by reason of the business enterprise of the famous family of Brown. It also profited greatly by the fact that it was a natural terminus for stages and packet boats. From the popular 'Crown Coffee House' of Richard Olney a stage-coach set out for Boston every Tuesday morning long prior to the Revolution, and by 1793 stages were leaving Boston and Providence on alternate days. The 'Old Farmer's Almanack' for the first year of the nineteenth century announced:

"'Providence and New York southern mail stage sets off from Israel Hatch's coffee house, corner of Exchange Lane, State Street, every Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday, at 8 o'clock in the morning, and arrives at New York every Wednesday, Friday and Sunday noon; leaves New York every Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday, at 10 o'clock in the morning, and arrives in Boston every Friday, Monday and Wednesday, at 3 o'clock in the afternoon.

"'An extra stage runs every day to Providence from the above office.'

"Providence, it will thus be seen, had got its good share of the increased business, which caused Wansey to remark, in 1794: 'Eight years ago the road from Boston to Newhaven, a distance of an hundred and seventy miles, could scarcely maintain two stages and twelve horses; now it maintains twenty stages weekly, with upwards of an hundred horses; so much is travelling encreased in this district.' In the summer of 1829, there were three hundred and twenty-eight stage-coaches a week running between Boston and Providence, besides many local stages to points nearer the city."

COOKS HOOVERIZE.

Cooks' Union from now on will close their headquarters at 10 p. m. instead of at midnight as heretofore. The union took this action to conform with the spirit of the Fuel Administration orders conserving electric power, and incidentally man power. The union has elected C. C. Haugaard as business agent, to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of Antone Balslow. Brother Balslow has been failing in health lately and goes to Petaluma on a ranch to recuperate.

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"Only Profiteers Demand Conscription of Labor"

"Drag out the conspirators behind conscription and you will find they are the most prolific war profiteers in the United States," said Frank Morrison, secretary of the American Federation of Labor, in opposing conscription of labor before the house committee on military affairs.

"Senator Thomas of Colorado is responsible for this objectionable amendment to pending draft legislation. The amendment is as follows:

"That where any person shall have been placed in a deferred or exempted class for any of the reasons in this paragraph set forth, he shall not be entitled to remain there unless he shall in good faith continue, while physically able to do so, to work at and follow such occupation, employment or business, and if he fails so to do he shall again be subject to the draft; the President shall make regulations for enforcing this provision."

"This amendment," declared the trade unionist, "is an attack on the loyalty of American workmen and will make the world believe, especially our allies, that our workers are slackers, that they are not giving their best to win the war.

"Secretary of War Baker is authority for his department. When asked by the senate committee what he thought of the amendment he said:

" 'I think it is unfortunate to add that.'

"It is therefore a fact," continued Secretary Morrison, "that the government is not exercised over the industrial situation. But some one is. He is hidden in the dark engineering a movement to conscript labor and it comes in here as an amendment to the draft bill.

"When war was declared the workers of the nation willingly fell in line, ready to go where needed to save the country and the world for democracy. It is the same democracy we are fighting for in protesting against this amendment.

"The working men attacked by this conscription amendment did not ask for exemption.

"It was the employer who asked for the exemptions. He said he must have workmen to fill his war contracts. Then, here and there an employer, closing his eyes to the increased cost of living, with only increased profits in mind, refused to concede sufficient wage for a fair living standard. Low wages and poor working conditions became unbearable and strikes followed. But these strikes were soon adjusted by the machinery of the Department of Labor.

"Notwithstanding the peaceful industrial situation it is now proposed to cast odium on loyal workmen who, while kept from the front against their will, desire to earn a wage sufficient to keep themselves and families above the poverty line.

"Assuming this law is enacted and carried out to the letter, and 2000 mechanics in a war plant strike, what then? How can their places be filled? Will the government become a strike-breaking agency, using soldiers who seek to save democracy to defeat working men who are also fighting for democracy on the industrial field?

"If soldiers are not used, where will strike-breakers be found? Is the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company and the great steel trust behind this legislation? A few days ago employees at Elwood, Indiana, asked the trust to leave the question of wages to the National War Labor Board. The trust refused. If these employees strike, what would be their status under this law?

"Employees of the steel trust throughout the country are organizing. In this amendment intended to frighten them into the belief that if they strike they will be sent to France? Hardly one of them but who believes he would be better off in the trenches than in the steel plants, where he is notoriously overworked and underpaid. But the conspirators do not believe this. Hence conscription.

"There is nothing uncertain in the loyalty pledge of the American Federation of Labor and its 3,000,000 members. It was given March 12, 1917—before the war—at a meeting of national and international labor officials. Afterwards it was indorsed by local unions, city and state federations of labor, and at the convention of the American Federation of Labor, in Buffalo, November, 1917.

"We do not ask for favors. We ask that this and any similar attempts to surreptitiously conscript labor be defeated.

"Drag out the conspirators behind conscription and you will find they are the most prolific war profiteers in the United States.

"The working people of the nation would become suspicious of a government that sought to make the world believe they would not work and were forced to fight against their will. The American Federation of Labor will protest with all its might against a plot to degrade labor, to level it down to the conditions in our enemy countries.

"This is the United States, not Germany."

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The National War Labor Board condemns individual contracts between employees and employers, and the Smith & Wesson Arms Company, of Springfield, Mass., is notified that "the practice of the company in times past to take restrictive personal contracts, even if lawful when made, is contrary to the principles of the National War Board, and the practice of taking such contracts should be discontinued for the period of the war."

The company has secured the individual contracts and refused to concede any form of collective bargaining to its employes, who were discharged as fast as they showed any inclination to object.

The decision is in line with similar rulings by the Board and is in opposition to a decision by the United States Supreme Court, which upheld individual contracts, last December.

After smashing its individual contracts the board notifies the company that its employees will be protected in their right to organize and bargain collectively, as this is a fundamental principle of the board.

It is recommended that all matters in dispute as to wages and other conditions be adjusted by a joint committee and in case of disagreement the matter be referred to the National War Labor Board.

Detailed instructions are given as to how these committees shall be selected by the workers under the supervision of a representative of the National War Labor Board that an honest selection may be made.

It is hinted that company representatives are tearing their hair because of the destruction of their individual contracts and much talk is being indulged in by them about "taking the matter to the courts."

STAND FOR REAL CO-OPERATION.

The "International Molders' Journal" suggests that trade unionists stand for real co-operation with employers to win this war, but to guard against so-called co-operation that has for its purpose the lowering of working standards.

"There is," says this paper, "a definite movement being carried on by powerful associations of employers to force organized labor into a subordinate position; efforts are being made to secure the enactment of anti-strike legislation. The anti-trade union associations of employers are also endeavoring to secure the enactment of compulsory arbitration measures, and behind the scenes we can see all of the machinery at work which in the past has endeavored to prevent the existence of trade union organizations.

"These forces are calling upon labor to co-operate, but the kind of co-operation which they desire is not that of equals, but the insistence of the man who considers himself a master and demands that those in his employ shall respond to his desires and orders with the humility and servility of servants.

"There must be co-operation, but in this country it cannot be secured unless those participating do so as American citizens possessing equal rights and having one common purpose—the establishment of democratic methods in industrial as well as in civil life."

No hustler has time to supply information to a man who knows it all.

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FIGHTING A COMMON FOE.

By the Rev. Charles Stelzle.

Christianity is largely responsible for the social unrest which characterizes the present generation. For centuries it has been presenting to men the high ideals which are resulting in nobler aspirations. The people have responded to the appeal made in the name of its founder, and we dare not now repudiate the resultant demands which have become so insistent.

Christianity has been teaching the value of the individual. The practical application of that teaching is found incarnated in the labor unions insistence upon the right of every man, woman and child to live the life which God intended should be lived by them.

Because of the church's teaching it must stand by the workingman in his fight for the child. It must fearlessly support him in his endeavor to relieve the almost unendurable condition of the woman who toils.

Because of its repeated messages in respect to cleanliness it must champion the workers in their struggles to secure for themselves better sanitary conditions in the home and in the shop. It must fire volley after volley into the sweat-shop and into everybody and everything that supports it, until the thing is absolutely wiped out of existence. Because of its well-known teaching it should give no peace until the workers have the fullest opportunity for developing the highest type of manhood and of citizenship. If only one life were involved, all this would be demanded. But there are millions in whose behalf the fight must be made.

So let us get together—the church and labor—in the name of our common Leader, to put to rout every foe of the higher life—whether that foe be found in ourselves, whether he be in our own ranks, or whether he be an outsider who is dominated by the greed for gold.

Just how this shall be done must depend upon local conditions. I have no panacea. I am an opportunist. I believe in getting all that I can as soon as I can. Therefore, without elaborating a "cock-sure" scheme, I would mention some everyday principles which are fundamental.

Be definite in your demands. If you yourself do not know what you are after, you must not expect others to know it.

Be consistent. If you believe in relieving sweat-shop conditions and if you would abolish Sunday labor, beware of adding to the burdens of those whom you profess to be trying to relieve.

Be patient. There is no short cut to the millennium. Rome was not built in a day. You will not correct all of the evils of your generations, but your reasonable, definite, consistent campaign will surely bring some things to pass.

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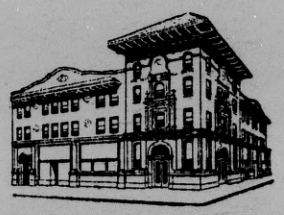

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Labor Day

By J. B. Dale
Organizer American Federation of Labor

The first Monday in September—Labor Day, made sacred by the sacrifices of trade unionists, many of whom long since have gone to their rest—is at hand.

The story of Labor—Organized Labor— its struggles, its accomplishments, its hopes, its aspirations, its benefits, and its inspirations—will be eloquently, logically and forcefully told by the men of Labor wherever assembled. Unionists and non-unionists alike will be thrilled by the story. Nothing in the annals of man grips and holds and compels one to think and to act as does the Organized Trade-Union Labor Movement, which is fundamentally a religious movement. "Bear ye one another's burden" is the message of the bona fide Labor Movement.

Never before has it attracted so much attention as it is doing at the present time. The world war that is shaking civilization from center to circumference; the men who are dying in Flanders; the men who are directing the maneuvers of the greatest armies the world has ever seen are depending upon the organized workers of the allies to "go over the top" and save the world for democracy and to democracy, and their prayers will be answered in the affirmative.

The organized wage-earner has received his education in the University of Hard Knocks, and he can and he will respond to the bugle call of Humanity and Civilization in a way that will bring joy to the hearts of his friends and corresponding depression and humiliation to those who have misunderstood and wantonly misrepresented the aims of his organization.

The thousands and hundreds of thousands that are ready to and will make the supreme sacrifice give eloquent testimonial to the patriotism of the members of the trade-union movement. These men have been fighting in the industrial trenches for lo, these many years to establish Industrial Democracy, without which a Political Democracy is a mockery, a delusion and a snare.

I take this occasion to say that the workers will not tolerate Industrial Autocracy any more than they will a Military Autocracy, and I hereby serve notice on the Kaisers of Industry, that they will not be permitted to ride roughshod over the helpless workers and deny to them the right to organize, while at the same time they themselves are thoroughly organized to protect and promote their commercial interests. If it is necessary for them to organize for such purpose, it is doubly necessary for the wage-earner, who has nothing to market but his labor. All fair-minded persons, who do not put the dollar above the man, welcome the humane efforts of the Trade-Union Movement. Its battle cry is Industrial Freedom and the right for the worker to organize into the union of his craft.

"As a matter of fact, there is nothing secret or mysterious or foreign about Organized Labor. Any 10-year-old boy can understand it. In every large community of intelligent working people a trade union is as legitimate as a savings bank, and as indispensable as a post office."

The trade unionists' program is the soundest platform and contains more practical suggestions than any other program that has come under my observation, inasmuch as its endeavor is to bring about a condition of affairs that will insure a workingman who is willing and capable to work a sufficient wage to justify him in undertaking family responsibilities. In other words, when he meets the girl of his choice, he can without any suspension of manhood ask the girl to become his wife, knowing at the same time that he is not inviting her to a life of poverty, misery and sorrow.

This program, if written into the statutes of this and other States, if written into the lives and hearts of men and women, would close the brothels, snuff out the red lights, take the woman out

Judge
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of the mill and the mine and place her in the home; would take the child out of the sweatshop, the mill and the mine and place it in the park in the playground, where it could play to its little heart's content. God bless all children!

Why, oh why, will business men organize themselves into what they are pleased to term the Merchants and Manufacturers' Association to oppose this humane program? Echo answers "Why?"

Will business men ever learn that a $5 a day workman is worth more to business than a $2 a day man? This is a cash-register argument to the business man. When one is confronted with the arguments and efforts and the calumny and the billingsgate of many of these would-be high-browed—let me change that to narrow-visioned—business men, it makes one blush to think that men who really believe themselves to be business men are so short-sighted as to try to increase the load upon the backs of those upon whom all business men ride in comfort. But the leaven is working. The economic star in the cast has appeared on the horizon and is lighting the way for the overworked and underpaid toilers of the world to a shorter day and more equitable pay for their efforts.

The wage-earners of the City of Los Angeles are awakening to the fact that their only salvation lies in organization, and they are now coming into their own. In the past twelve months there have been organized south of the Tehachapi between 25,000 and 30,000 wage-earners. While they are working in harmony with the war program, emphatically endorsed by the American Federation of Labor, not to cause any industrial unrest, if avoidable, they are, at the same time, availing themselves fully of the War Labor Board program that they shall not be discriminated against for exercising that right, hence the wave of organization that is inundating the Southland. Los Angeles, Long Beach, San Pedro, San Diego, San Bernardino and every town of any consequence is organizing—not for the purpose of holding up employers and manufacturers, but to stop the employers and manufacturers from holding them up.

Labor is anxious to meet the employers or their representatives on neutral ground and sit down around the table and talk over the conditions of Labor, while at the same time it has made up its mind to conduct its affairs along trade-union lines and deal with employers collectively. The employers' objection to this is unsound, unpatriotic and childish in the extreme.

A "drummer" walks in to the merchant and shows him his samples and takes his orders; the builder buys his lumber from the company or companies which sell their goods collectively, without raising one objection, but when a representative of Labor—a representative of the men that dig the ditch and plow the fields, erect the skyscraper—in short, the men who perform the world's work and make it possible for civilization to prosper and progress—when Labor's representative knocks at the office door and asks for admission, he is not always politely but always very emphatically told that they purpose to run their own business, and that they have not time to waste on "walking delegates." They lose sight of the fact that while they object to meeting a representative of Labor, them themselves want to run Labor's business. But these Industrial Autocrats are going to be taught a very wholesome lesson; they are going to be taught that the man who does their work is just as much of a man, just as loyal a citizen and as valuable an asset to Society as they themselves and that they must so recognize him. This change can and will be wrought with the co-operation of the employers if Labor can secure it, but with their opposition if they force Labor to the issue.

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"You engineers who work for a living don't need any juggler with figures to tell you about your wages," writes Editor Evans in the current issue of the International Steam Engineer.

"You know how much or how little your wages will buy. You find it out when you pay rent, when you buy clothes, when you pay for food, when you are lucky enough to get coal at any price. After you have paid for these things that you must have in order to exist, you learn how little you can afford to spend for pleasure.

"You know that your life is made up mostly of toil, toil and small pay. Some of you get a little higher wage—a little more salary—than others. None of you get a living wage. And you, and only you, by your labor, have built the world in all its beauty and glory.

"A living wage is a wage that will buy the best of everything your labor has produced. A wage so large that you will not have to rob your own flesh and blood of the things to which they are entitled by the right of life itself. None of you who work get such a wage. All of you could get it. Why do you do so much and get so little?

"Let me help with the answer. Your wage is never higher than your power to demand it. Your working conditions are never better than your economic power to improve them. Your lot in life is determined by your strength to compel your boss to pay you a living wage. How are you to get the power to get a real living wage and make your life mean more than work and worry?

"By organization. By organization only.

"Wake up and live!"

FAIL TO BRIBE UNIONIST.

Minneapolis.—Editor Cramer of the "Labor Review" prints a reproduction of a letter from Charles F. Trotter, local manager of the Burns Detective Agency, to Organizer Abby of the Machinists' Union, who is asked to meet the detective "upon a matter of considerable importance."

Abby accepted the invitation and was told that certain employers wanted him to "make the men satisfied with their conditions." One of the firms is the Minneapolis Steel and Machinery Company, whose employees persist in joining the trade-union movement. Abby was told that he would be paid a monthly salary or a lump sum. The detective assured the unionist that his clients were irritated over the government's policy of interfering with their business where labor was involved and they wanted this practice discontinued.

Abby asked for time to consider the question, and when he found that the detective could not be arrested, he informed Trotter of his opinion of these methods.

With an impudence that these detectives alone possess, Trotter replied: "If you change your mind, call me up."

WRITE PLAIN TO SOLDIERS.

The postoffice department says that faulty address is one reason for the non-delivery of mail to soldiers in the military camps in the United States.

Postmasters are instructed to notify relatives and friends that unless mail is addressed to the company and regiment or other distinctive organizations of these soldiers, delays in delivery or failure to deliver may result. It is urged that correct and complete addresses and return cards be placed upon all classes of mail, especially at this time when many new men are joining the service and old units are being transferred to other camps.

Much argument is wasted in vain effort to change convictions that are not at all important.

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RUSSIAN LIVING COSTS HIGH.

The United States Bureau of Labor statistics prints interesting food costs and wages in Moscow, Russia, which were first printed in a workmen's paper in that city. It is stated that "conditions in Moscow are more characteristic in this respect than those in any other Russian city."

Between August, 1914, and August, 1917, the price of rye bread has increased 380 per cent; beef, 400 per cent; pork, 770 per cent; butter, 567 per cent; milk, 471 per cent, and eggs, 433 per cent.

During the first three years of the war manufactured products increased as follows: Cotton prints, 1,173 per cent; cotton cloth, 1,233 per cent; woolen cloth, 1,900 per cent; men's shoes, 1,700 per cent; men's suits, 900 per cent and small metal articles, 1,900 per cent.

During the period from 1914 to 1916 wages have fallen woefully short in meeting these figures, the increases being: Carpenters from $1.03 a day in 1914 to $4.38 in 1916; painters, from $1.13 to $4.12, blacksmiths, from $1.16 to $4.38, machinists, from $1.03 to $4.64, unskilled laborers, from 77 cents to $4.12.

SHIP YARD RATES LOW.

The claim of wonderful wages paid ship yard employes has been given a setback by figures published by Labor Commissioner Hoff, of Olympia, Wash., who shows that for the first six months of this year ship yard workers in this State were paid a total of $12,318,216 for 2,266,727 work days.

This is an average of a little more than $508 for six months, or $1,016 for a year, as the average wage of ship yard employees in Oregon. These figures are less than the $4-a-day minimum rate for common labor that the national war labor board has declared for.

WIN SEVEN WEEKS' STRIKE.

At Newton Upper Falls, Mass., a seven-weeks' strike of machinists and laborers has been settled. All employees are reinstated, wages are increased 4 cents an hour and shop committees are recognized.

About 600 workers were involved, and the company failed in its attempt to secure strikebreakers.

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Ariadna Roomanov, the famous Russian pianiste, whose recent arrival in this city caused considerable excitement owing to the fact that her name being identical with that of the late Czar of Russia she was mistaken for the Princess Titiana, his daughter, will make her first appearance in America playing principally her own compositions. Madame Roomanov is conceded to be one of the most beautiful women in the world.

L. Wolfe Gilbert and Anatole Friedlund, writers of "My Little Persian Rose," "My Own Ioana," "My Little Dream Girl," "Waiting for the Robert E. Lee," "Hitchy Koo," "Sweet Adair," "Lily of the Valley," and a host of other popular ditties will be heard in their latest successes. Their engagement is limited to one week only.

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Willie Solar is entitled to call himself "The International Musical Comedy Star," for he has appeared in every country containing an English speaking theatre. When not dancing Solar is whistling, singing, playing comedy or presenting some originality of his own which he calls throat manipulation.

Eddie Mack and Dot Williams who are appropriately described as Vaudeville's Novelty Dancers, will submit a programme which is composed of several unusual terpsichorean efforts including their original stairway dance.

Constance Crawley and Arthur Maude will appear in another one-act play entitled "The Actress,"

Milt Collins, "The Speaker of the House," in his screamingly funny monologue "The Patriot," and Toto the greatest of all clowns in his humorous pantomimic triumph will contribute to the enjoyment of a delightful programme which will have as its finale the latest series of the Official War Review.

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(104) Owl Printing Co.....565 Commercial
(81) Pernau Publishing Co.....753 Market
(88) *†Polyglot Printing Co.....118 Columbus Ave.
(143) †Progress Printing Co.....516 Mission
(34) Reuter Bros.....513 Valencia
(64) Richmond Banner, The.....320 Sixth Ave.
(61) *Rincon Pub. Co.....643 Stevenson
(26) Roesch Co., Louis.....Fifteenth and Mission
(66) Roycroft Press.....461 Bush
(83) Samuel Printing Co.....16 Larkin
(145) ‡S. F. Newspaper Union.....818 Mission
(58) Severance-Roche Co.....1733 Mission
(6) Shannon-Conmy Printing Co.....509 Sansome
(15) Simplex System Co.....136 Pine
(125) *Shanley Co., The.....147-151 Minna
(29) Standard Printing Co.....324 Clay
(63) *Telegraph Press.....69 Turk
(49) Stockwitz Printing Co.....1212 Turk
(187) *Town Talk Press.....88 First
(52) Turner & Dahnken.....134 Golden Gate Ave.
(177) United Presbyterian Press.....1074 Guerrero
(138) Wagner Printing Co.....1105 Mission
(35) Wale Printing Co.....883 Market
(38) *West Coast Publishing Co.....30 Sharon
(36) West End Press.....2436 California
(43) Western Printing Co.....82 Second
(51) Widup, Ernest F.....1133 Mission
(106) Wilcox & Co.....320 First
(44) *Williams Printing Co.....350 Sansome
(76) Wobbers, Inc.....774 Market
(112) Wolff, Louis A.....64 Elgin Park

BOOKBINDERS AND PAPER RULERS.

(128) Barry, Edward & Co.....215 Leidesdorff
(205) Bowman & Plimley.....343 Front
(191) Caldwell, Geo. P. & Co.....442 Sansome
(224) Foster & Futernick Company....560 Mission
(231) Houle, A. L. Bindery Co.....509 Sansome
(221) Ingrisch, Louis L.....340 Sansome
(108) Levison Printing Co.....1540 California
(131) Malloye, Frank & Co.....251-253 Bush
(130) McIntyre, John B.....440 Sansome
(81) Pernau Publishing Co.....751 Market
(200) Slater, John A.....147-151 Minna
(195) Stumm, E. C.....675 Stevenson
(168) Thumler & Rutherford.....117 Grant Ave.

CARTON AND LABEL MANUFACTURERS.

(161) Occidental Supply Co.....580 Howard

GOLD STAMPERS AND EMBOSSERS.

(3) Brunt, Walter N.....766 Mission

LITHOGRAPHERS.

(234) Galloway Lithographing Co., Inc., The.....509-515 Howard
(26) Roesch Co., Louis.....Fifteenth and Mission

MAILERS.

(219) Rightway Mailing Agency.....880 Mission

NEWSPAPERS.

(126) Ashbury Heights Advance.....1672 Height
(139) *Bien, S. F. Danish-Norwegian..340 Sansome
(11) *Call and Post, The..New Mtgmy. and Jessie
(41) Coast Seamen's Journal.....59 Clay
(25) *Daily News.....340 Ninth
(94) *Journal of Commerce..Cor. Annie and Jessie
(21) Labor Clarion.....Sixteenth and Capp
(141) *La Voce del Popolo.....641 Stevenson
(57) *Leader, The.....643 Stevenson
(123) *†L'Italia Daily News.....118 Columbus Ave.
(39) *Mission Enterprise.....3358 Twenty-second
(144) Organized Labor.....1122 Mission
(156) Pacific Coast Merchant.....423 Sacramento
(61) *Recorder, The.....643 Stevenson
(32) *Richmond Record, The.....5716 Geary
(7) *Star, The.....1122-1124 Mission
(38) *Vestkusten, Swedish.....30 Sharon

PRESSWORK.

(134) Independent Press Room.....348A Sansome
(103) Lyons, J. F.....330 Jackson
(122) Periodical Press Room.....509 Sansome

RUBBER STAMPS.

(83) Samuel Printing Co.....16 Larkin

BADGES AND BUTTONS.

(3) Brunt, Walter N.....766 Mission

TICKET PRINTERS.

(20) Hancock Bros.....47-49 Jessie

PHOTO ENGRAVERS.

(197) Acme Photo-Engraving Co.....259 Minna
(201) Bingley Photo-Engraving Co....573 Mission
(97) Commercial Art Eng. Co.....53 Third
(204) Commercial Photo & Engraving Co..563 Clay
(202) Congdon, Harry R.....311 Battery
(198) S. F. Photo-Engraving Co....215 Leidesdorff
(209) Salter Bros.....118 Columbus Ave.
(199) Sierra Art and Engraving.....343 Front
(207) Western Process Engraving Co....76 Second

STEREOTYPERS AND ELECTROTYPERS.

(212) Hoffschneider Bros.....140 Second

We Don't Patronize List.

The concerns named below are on the "We Don't Patronize" list of the San Francisco Labor Council. Members of labor unions and sympathizers are requested to cut this out and post it.

American Tobacco Company.
Cahn, Nickelsburg & Co., boots and shoes.
Economic Laundry, 51 Clara.
Gorman & Bennett, Grove street.
Gunst, M. A., cigar stores.
Jellison's Cafe, 10 Third.
Kaiser, Fred, grocery store, 400 Clement.
Levi Strauss & Co., garment makers.
Liberty Theatre, Broadway and Stockton.
National Biscuit Co. of Chicago, products.
Pacific Box Factory.
Pacific Oil & Lead Works, 155 Townsend.
Pittsburg-Des Moines Steel Company.
Regent Theatre, Fillmore and Sacramento.
Rosenblum & Abrahams, tailors, 1105 Market
Schmidt Lithograph Co.
St. Francis Theatre, Geary, near Powell.
United Cigar Stores.
White Lunch Cafeteria.
H. Wissman, Twenty-fourth avenue and Clement street, grocer.
Wyatt & Son, 1256 McAllister.

A word to the wise is sufficient, provided it is the key to the code.

Phone Market 2355 Yosemite Lager on Draught

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Strictly Union Conditions
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Hermitage California Vintages
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INGLENOOK WINES AND BRANDIES
Office and Cellar:
Corner Townsend & Stanford Sts.
SAN FRANCISCO

Mission 3905—Telephones—Mission 7024
Vineyards and Winery
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MONTEBELLO WINE CO., INC.
Office and Salesrooms:
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Stockton & O'Farrell Sts.

SAN FRANCISCO

WIN THE WAR FOR FREEDOM!

By Samuel Gompers,
President of the American Federation of Labor.

"Win the War for Freedom!"

That is the Labor Day thought of America's workers and that will be their thought until the war for freedom is won.

"Win the War for Freedom" is inscribed upon the banners of America's workers today in every city and hamlet. It is the message that will be spoken from every platform. It is the song of every heart.

"Win the War for Freedom" because it is a war for freedom and because only through victory can there be freedom.

The working people of America are conscious of their vital part in making victory possible and they will do their part, not as a task, but as a right—a right to share in the work of securing forever that freedom which they prize above all things.

We need have no recourse to rhetoric to state our case. The facts are simply stated, but of supreme importance. Our Democracy is assailed, our Liberty in jeopardy. Autocracy challenges our sacred rights.

We count it our most sacred duty to win safety for our freedom and our democracy, for only when they are safe can life give to us its opportunities and its value.

"Win the War for Freedom!"

To that proposition we dedicate our labor and our lives as Americans and as workers. It is the supreme purpose of our lives on this Labor Day!

UNION BRINGS RESULTS.

Six years ago hoisting engineers in Erie, Pa., were paid 25 cents an hour with no limit to the work day. Their union is now recognized, a 75-cent minimum and a nine-hour day established with pay for overtime and holiday work. On work outside the city limits the employer shall pay for time in excess of 30 minutes going to and from the work, and shall pay transportation in excess of city street car fare. The arbitration section provides that two members of the union and two members of the Master Builders' Association shall first attempt the settlement of a dispute, and on their failure they shall select a disinterested person who shall be chairman of the board.

"SAVE THE WHEAT FOR OUR BOYS"
EAT
Nolte's
HONEY-COCOANUT
MACAROONS
THEY CONTAIN NO FLOUR

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HIGH-GRADE CLOTHING, HATS
or
GENTS FURNISHINGS
All the Leading Brands in Stock
39 STEUART ST.
(S. P. Building)

There are two kinds of whiskey
OLD GILT EDGE WHISKEY
And—well, what's the use?
Rye Bourbon

Great Western Electro Chemical Co.

SAN FRANCISCO PITTSBURG, CALIF.

CHEMICAL PRODUCTS THAT ARE HELPING TO WIN THE WAR

"My hat off to the man who serves his country and his community with the skill of his hands"—

—so said an eminent statesman—some years ago—in a time of peace. Today this tribute is specially due the man who belongs to the great brotherhood of workers—for the nation is depending on him! In a plain, everyday, but very necessary way—we are providing for the worker—clothes that are the best we can get to sell at the most moderate prices. Jumpers—overalls, corduroy trousers—work shirts, furnishings of all sorts—undergarments for all sorts of weather and conditions—and special garments like porters,' waiters' and bartenders' coats—and so on, with the "Union Label," of course!
—And a cordial service that the man of this great group will like to receive!

The New Prager Department Store
(Market at Jones)

Directory of Labor Council Unions

Labor Council meets every Friday at 8 p. m. at Labor Temple, Sixteenth and Capp Streets. Secretary's office and headquarters, San Francisco Labor Temple, Sixteenth and Capp Streets. Executive and Arbitration Committee meets at headquarters every Monday at 7:30 p. m. Organizing Committee meets at headquarters on second Thursdays at 7:30 p. m. Law and Legislation Committee meets at call of chairman. Label Section meets first and third Wednesdays at 8 p. m. Headquarters phone—Market 56.

Alaska Fishermen—Meet Fridays, 49 Clay.
Asphalt Workers—Meet 2d Monday, Labor Temple, Sixteenth and Capp.
Amalgamated Carpenters No. 1—Meet alternate Fridays, Building Trades Temple.
Amalgamated Carpenters No. 2—Meet alternate Fridays, Building Trades Temple.
Amalgamated Carpenters No. 3—Meet alternate Mondays, Building Trades Temple.
Amalgamated Carpenters No. 5—Meet alternate Mondays, Building Trades Temple.
Auto Bus Operators' Union No. 399—Meets every Thursday, 9 p. m., 10 Embarcadero. R. H. Buck, Business Agent.
Automobile and Carriage Painters No. 1073—Meet Thursday evenings, Building Trades Temple.
Baggage Messengers—Meet 2d Mondays, 146 Steuart.
Bakers (Cracker) No. 125—Meet 2d and 4th Thursdays, Labor Temple, Sixteenth and Capp.
Bakers' Auxiliary (Cracker)—Meets 1st and 3d Tuesdays, 1524 Powell.
Bakers No. 24—Meet 1st and 3d Saturdays, Labor Temple, Sixteenth and Capp.
Bakers No. 134—Victor Jallu, Secretary, 2803 Geary.
Bakery Wagon Drivers—Meet 2d and 4th Saturdays, Labor Temple, Sixteenth and Capp.
Barbers—Meet 1st and 3d Mondays, 112 Valencia.
Bartenders No. 41—Meet 1st Mondays at 2:30; other Mondays in evening at 1065 Market.
Bay and River Steamboatmen—Meet Sundays, headquarters, 10 East. Henry Huntsman, Secretary.
Beer Drivers No. 227—Meet 2d Tuesdays and 4th Thursdays, headquarters, 177 Capp.
Beer Bottlers No. 293—Meet 1st and 3d Tuesdays, at headquarters, 177 Capp.
Bill Posters—Meet 2d and 4th Mondays, Fifteenth and Mission.
Blacksmiths and Helpers No. 168—Meet 1st and 3d Tuesdays, Labor Temple, Sixteenth and Capp.
Boiler Makers No. 6—Meet 2d and 4th Thursdays, Labor Temple, Sixteenth and Capp.
Book Binders No. 31—Meet last Fridays, Labor Temple. James D. Kelly, Business Agent, Underwood Building, 525 Market.
Boot and Shoe Workers No. 216—Meet 2d and 4th Wednesdays, Shoe Workers' Hall, Twenty-fourth and Howard.
Bottle Caners—Meet 1st Fridays, Labor Temple, Sixteenth and Capp.
Box Makers and Sawyers—Meet 1st and 3d Tuesdays, 177 Capp.
Brass and Chandelier Workers No. 158—Meet 2d and 4th Wednesdays, Labor Temple, Sixteenth and Capp.
Brewery Workmen No. 7—Meet 2d and 4th Thursdays at headquarters, 177 Capp.
Bricklayers No. 7—Meet Tuesdays, Building Trades Temple.
Bridge and Structural Iron Workers No. 31—Meet Mondays, 224 Guerrero.
Broom Makers—Meet 3d Tuesday.
Butchers No. 115—Meet Wednesdays, Labor Temple, Sixteenth and Capp.
Butchers No. 508 (Slaughterhousemen)—Meet every Tuesday, Laurel Hall, Seventh and R. R. Avenue.
Carpenters No. 22—Meet Fridays, Building Trades Temple.
Carpenters No. 304—Meet Mondays, Carpenters' Hall, 112 Valencia.
Carpenters No. 483—Meet Mondays, 112 Valencia.
Carpenters No. 1082—Meet Tuesdays, 112 Valencia.
Carpenters No. 1640—Meet Thursdays, Building Trades Temple.
Car Repairers and Trackmen No. 687—Meet 2d and 4th Tuesdays, Labor Temple.
Casting Cleaners—Meet 1st and 3d Fridays, Labor Temple.
Cemetery Employees—Meet 1st and 3d Saturdays, Labor Temple, Sixteenth and Capp.
Cement Workers No. 1—Meet Wednesdays, Building Trades Temple.
Chauffeurs No. 265, I. B. of T.—Meet 1st and 3d Thursdays in evening, 2d and 4th Thursdays in afternoon, at 215 Willow Avenue. S. T. Dixon, Business Agent.
Cigar Makers—Meet 1st and 3d Thursdays, Labor Temple, Sixteenth and Capp.
Cloth Hat and Cap Makers No. 9—Meet 1st and 3d Tuesdays, 1245 Market.
Composition Roofers No. 25—Meet 1st and 3d Mondays, Building Trades Temple.
Cooks' Helpers—Meet 2d and 4th Wednesdays at headquarters, 149 Fifth.
Cooks No. 44—Meet 2d and 4th Thursday nights; headquarters, 828 Mission.
Coopers No. 65—Meet 2d and 4th Tuesdays, Labor Temple, Sixteenth and Capp.
Electrical Workers No. 6—Meet Wednesdays, Building Trades Temple.
Electrical Workers No. 92—Meet Wednesdays, 112 Valencia.
Electrical Workers No. 151—Thursdays, 112 Valencia.
Electrical Workers No. 537—Wednesdays, 146 Steuart.
Elevator Operators and Starters No. 495—Meet 3d Monday, Eureka Hall, Building Trades Temple.
Elevator Constructors No. 2—Meet 1st and 3d Fridays, Building Trades Temple.
Federation of Federal Civil Service Employees—Meet 1st Tuesday, Pacific Building; headquarters, 742 Pacific Building.
Foundry Employees—Meet Fridays, 59 Clay.
Furniture Handlers No. 1—Meet 2d and 4th Fridays, Building Trades Temple.
Garment Cutters—Meet 2d and 4th Thursdays, Labor Temple, Sixteenth and Capp.
Garment Workers No. 131—Meet 1st and 3d Thursdays, Labor Temple, Sixteenth and Capp.
Gas Appliance and Stove Fitters—Meet 2d and 4th Fridays, Labor Temple, Sixteenth and Capp. J. Hammerschlagg, Secretary.
Gas and Electric Fixture Hangers No. 404—Meet 2d and 4th Mondays, Building Trades Temple.
Gas Workers—Meet 2d and 4th Tuesdays, Labor Temple, Sixteenth and Capp.
Glass Bottle Blowers—Meet 2d and 4th Saturdays, Labor Temple, Sixteenth and Capp.
Glove Workers—Meet 3d Friday, Labor Temple, Sixteenth and Capp.
Glass Packers, Branch No. 45—Meet 1st and 3d Saturdays, Labor Temple.
Granite Cutters—Meet 2d and 4th Tuesdays, Building Trades Temple.
Grocery Clerks—Meet 1st Thursdays; headquarters, Labor Temple, Sixteenth and Capp; hours 10 to 11 a. m.
Hatters' Union—J. Grace, Secretary, 1114 Mission.
Hoisting Engineers No. 59—Meet Mondays, Building Trades Temple.
Horseshoers—Meet 1st and 3d Thursdays, Labor Temple, Sixteenth and Capp.
Hospital Stewards and Nurses—Meet at headquarters, 44 Page, 1st and 3d Mondays at 7:30 p. m.
Housesmiths and Iron Workers No. 78—Meet Wednesdays, Building Trades Temple.
House Movers—Meet 2d and 4th Wednesdays, Building Trades Temple.
Ice Wagon Drivers—Meet 2d and 4th Mondays, Labor Temple, Sixteenth and Capp.
Iron, Tin and Steel Workers No. 5—Meet 1st and 2d Saturdays, Metropolitan Hall, South San Francisco.
Janitors—Meet 1st Thursdays, 8 p. m., Labor Temple, Sixteenth and Capp.
Ladies' Garment Workers No. 8—Meet Mondays, Hamilton Hall, 1545 Steiner.
Laundry Wagon Drivers—Meet 2d and 4th Wednesdays, Labor Temple, Sixteenth and Capp.
Letter Carriers—Meet 1st Saturday, Los Angeles Hall, Native Sons' Building.
Machinists' Auxiliary, Golden West Lodge No. 1—Meets 1st and 3d Tuesdays, Labor Temple, Sixteenth and Capp.
Machinists No. 68—Meet Wednesdays; headquarters, Labor Temple, Sixteenth and Capp.
Mailers—Meet 4th Monday, Labor Temple, Sixteenth and Capp.
Mantel, Grate and Tile Setters—Meet 1st and 3d Fridays, Building Trades Temple.
Marble Workers No. 44—Meet 1st and 3d Tuesdays, Building Trades Temple.
Marble Cutters No. 88—Meet 2d and 4th Mondays, Building Trades Temple.
Marine Firemen, Oilers and Water Tenders—Meet Tuesdays, 58 Commercial.
Marine Gasoline Engineers No. 471—Meet 1st and 3d Thursdays.
Metal Polishers—Meet 1st and 3d Mondays, Labor Temple, Sixteenth and Capp.
Milk Wagon Drivers—Meet Wednesdays, Labor Temple, Sixteenth and Capp.
Millmen No. 422—Meet Tuesdays, Building Trades Temple.
Millwrights No. 766—Meet 1st and 3d Fridays, Building Trades Temple.
Molders' Auxiliary—Meets 1st and 3d Fridays, Labor Temple, Sixteenth and Capp.
Molders No. 164—Meet Tuesdays, Labor Temple, Sixteenth and Capp. Headquarters, Labor Temple, Sixteenth and Capp.
Mold Makers No. 66—Meet 1st Thursday, Roesch Building.
Moving Picture Operators, Local No. 162—Meet 2d and 4th Thursdays, 10 a. m., at headquarters, Musicians' Hall, 68 Haight.
Musicians—Headquarters, 68 Haight.
Office Employees—Meet 2d and 4th Wednesdays, Labor Temple, Sixteenth and Capp.
Painters No. 19—Meet Mondays, Building Trades Temple.
Pattern Makers—Meet 2d and 4th Friday nights at headquarters, Labor Temple, Sixteenth and Capp.
Pavers No. 18—Meet 1st Monday, Labor Temple, Sixteenth and Capp.
Photo Engravers No. 8—Meet 1st Sundays at 12 m., in Labor Temple, Sixteenth and Capp.
Pile Drivers, Bridge and Structural Iron Workers—Meet Thursdays; headquarters, 457 Bryant.
Plasterers No. 66—Meet Mondays, Building Trades Temple.
Plumbers No. 442—Meet Fridays, Building Trades Temple.
Postoffice Clerks—Meet 4th Thursdays, Knights of Columbus Hall.
Press Feeders and Assistants—Meet 2d Thursday, Labor Temple; headquarters, 628 Montgomery. Room 229.
Printing Pressmen No. 24—Meet 2d Mondays, Labor Temple, Sixteenth and Capp.
Rammermen—Meet 2d Monday, Labor Temple, Sixteenth and Capp.
Retail Clerks No. 432—Meet 2d and 4th Wednesdays, 8 p. m., Retail Clerks' Club, 32 Turk.
Retail Delivery Drivers—Meet at headquarters, 2d and 4th Thursdays, Labor Temple, Sixteenth and Capp.
Retail Shoe Clerks No. 410—Meet Tuesdays 8 p. m., Retail Clerks' Club, 32 Turk.
Riggers and Stevedores—Meet Mondays, 74 Folsom.
Sailors' Union of the Pacific—Meet Mondays, Maritime Hall Building, 59 Clay.
Sail Makers—Meet at Labor Temple, Sixteenth and Capp.
Sheet Metal Workers No. 95—Meet 2d Thursdays, 224 Guerrero.
Sheet Metal Workers No. 104—Meet Fridays, 224 Guerrero.
Shipyard Laborers—Meet Fridays, Labor Temple.
Sign and Pictorial Painters No. 510—Meet Fridays, Building Trades Temple.
Stable and Garage Employees—Meet 2d and 4th Thursdays, Labor Temple, Sixteenth and Capp.
Stage Employees—68 Haight.
Stationary Firemen—Meet Tuesdays, Labor Temple, Sixteenth and Capp.
Steam Engineers No. 64—Meet Tuesdays, Building Trades Temple.
Steam Fitters and Helpers No. 590—Meet 1st and 3d Wednesdays, Labor Temple, Sixteenth and Capp.
Steam Fitters No. 509—Meet Tuesday evenings, 224 Guerrero.
Steam Laundry Workers—Meet 1st and 3d Mondays, Labor Temple, Sixteenth and Capp; headquarters, Labor Temple.
Steam Shovelmen Dist. No. 4—Meet Wednesdays, 215 Hewes Building.
Stereotypers and Electrotypers—Meet 2d Sunday, Labor Temple, Sixteenth and Capp.
Street Railway Employees, Div. 518—Meet 2d and 4th Thursdays, Labor Temple.
Sugar Workers—Meet 2d and 4th Tuesdays, Labor Temple, Sixteenth and Capp.
Switchmen's Union No. 197—Meets 1st and 3d Sundays, 2876 Twenty-fourth.
Tailors (Journeymen) No. 2—Meet 1st and 3d Tuesdays, Labor Temple, Sixteenth and Capp.
Tailors No. 80—Meet 2d and 4th Mondays, 240 Golden Gate Avenue.
Teamsters—Meet Thursdays, headquarters, 536 Bryant.
Teamsters No. 216—Meet Saturdays, Building Trades Temple.
Theatrical Employees—Meet 1st and 3d Tuesdays, 11 a. m., 68 Haight.
Tobacco Workers—Meet 3d Fridays, Building Trades Temple. Miss M. Kerrigan, Secretary, 290 Fremont.
Typographical No. 21—Meets last Sunday, Labor Temple, Sixteenth and Capp; headquarters, Room 701 Underwood Bldg., 525 Market.
Undertakers—Meet on call, 3567 Seventeenth.
United Glass Workers—Meet Wednesdays, Building Trades Temple.
United Laborers of S. F.—Meet Tuesdays, Building Trades Temple.
United Leather Workers No. 57 (Saddlery Workers)—Meet 1st and 3d Thursdays, Labor Temple.
United Leather Workers No. 72 (Tanners)—Meet Wednesdays, Maennerbund Hall, 24th and Potrero.
United Trunk, Bag and Suitcase Workers—Tiv. Hall, Albion Ave.
Upholsterers—Meet Tuesdays, Labor Temple, Sixteenth and Capp.
Waiters No. 30—Meet 1st Wednesday, 8:30 p. m.; other Wednesdays 2:30 p. m., at headquarters, 828 Mission.
Waitresses No. 48—Meet Wednesdays, 1095 Market.
Warehouse and Cereal Workers—Meet Tuesdays, 457 Bryant.
Watchmen No. 15,689—Meet 1st and 3d Fridays, 8 p. m., Labor Temple. O. S. Curry, Secretary, 1437 Polk.
Water Workers—Labor Temple.
Web Pressmen—Meet 4th Monday, Labor Temple, Sixteenth and Capp.

Ladies' Auxiliary to Label Section—Meets 2d and 4th Mondays, Labor Temple, Sixteenth and Capp.
Anti-Jap Laundry League—313-14 Anglo Bldg., Sixteenth and Mission.

DANIEL A. RYAN

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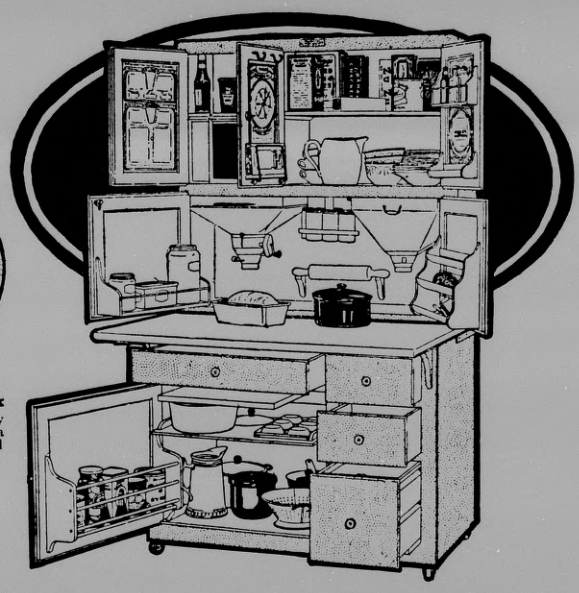

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